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AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE RETURN

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"I Come Searching for Peace"

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A Major Diplomatic Breakthrough
—An Interview with Ibrahim Souss

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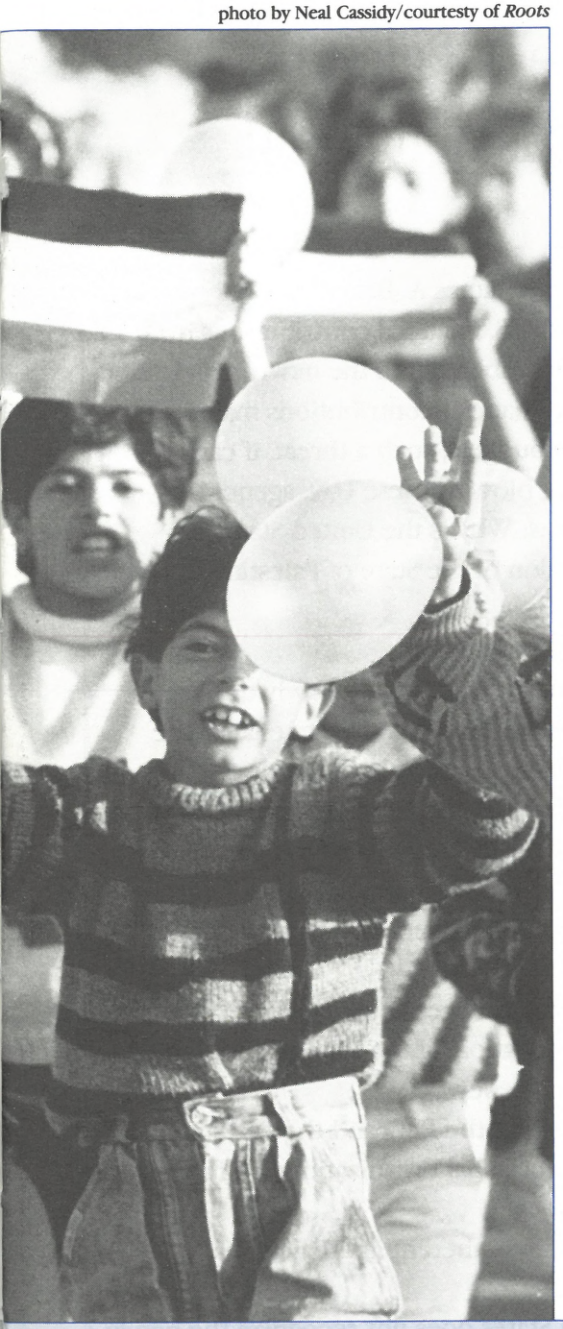

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Cover photo: Presidents Yasser Arafat and François Mitterrand at the Elysée presidential palace in Paris. Barthelemy-Chesnot-Witt-Pata/SIPA Press

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Publishers are urged to send books relating to the Middle East for reviews.

Blocking the State of Palestine: The United States Is At It Again

The United States is at it again.

On May 1, U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker announced that the United States would withhold U.S. financial contributions from any U.N. agencies that grant full membership to the newly proclaimed State of Palestine. Given that U.S. financial contributions make up a large part of many U.N. agencies' budgets, such a threat, if carried out, could prove to be a crippling blow to these U.N. agencies.

The question that then arises is: Why is the United States so adamantly opposed to the admission of the State of Palestine as a full member to these U.N. agencies?

There are four identifiable rationalizations:

One, the United States does not recognize the newly declared Palestinian state. The United States claims that this state lacks the normal attributes of statehood, such as control of territory.

Two, the United States believes that the admission of the State of Palestine would cause harm to the Middle East peace process. The United States does not support the establishment of a Palestinian state that is not the result of negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians.

Three, the U.S. House of Representatives voted on May 17, to bar American payments to the United Nations if the PLO is admitted to the world body or any other U.N. agency.

Four, the United States claims that the PLO and the Palestinians, by applying for admission to international organizations politicize what should be nonpolitical entities.

These U.S. concerns are based on inherent anti-Palestinian attitudes among U.S. policymakers.

First of all, even if the United States does not recognize the newly declared State of Palestine, that does not mean that the state is illegitmate. The legitimacy of a country or regime in the international system is based on the recognition of a majority of the existing countries. Of the 160 or so countries that "exist" today, over 100 of them have recognized the newly declared State of Palestine. Thus, at least 20 more countries recognize the State of Palestine than the State of Israel.

In addition, the fact that all of Palestine is occupied by Israel is not a basis for delegitmizing the State of Palestine. After all, the

vast majority of countries, including the United States, does not recognize the legality of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Secondly, the declaration of the State of Palestine is not an impediment to peace as the United States and Israel claim. The declaration of the State of Palestine comes as a testimony to the political identity of the Palestinian people.

Besides, the Palestinians do not need Israeli or American "permission" to declare a state of their own. Neither the Americans nor the Israelis requested the permission of other nations when they issued their declarations of independence.

Thirdly, the fact that the U.S. House of Representatives declared that they would move to cut funds from the U.N. agencies that admit the State of Palestine as a full member is shear politics. It is also a blunt attempt to blackmail these U.N. agencies.

The United States does not support these agencies simply for altruistic reasons. The United States, which perceives itself as a world leader, is simply paying the dues of that claim. Moreover, the United States benefits from the agreements and projects run by these U.N. agencies. The World Health Organization (WHO), for example, is working on fighting infectious diseases, including AIDS, which is a bigger problem in the United States than in any other country.

Finally, the United States' claim that the Palestinians simply politicize international agencies when they apply for membership is convoluted logic. By threatening to cut aid to organizations that accept the PLO or the newly declared State of Palestine, it is the United States, largely in conjunciton with Israel, that politicizes international agencies.

Irrespective of what the outcome of the State of Palestine's efforts to join various international agencies, the United States could better utilize its energies by convincing the Israelis that their illegal occupation of Arab lands should be terminated for the sake of peace and security in the Middle East.

Unfortunately, this seems to be much too much to ask. □

Arafat-Mitterrand Summit: A Major Diplomatic Breakthrough

Interview with Ibrahim Souss

On his first official visit to a permanent Western member of the U.N. Security Council, Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine and Chairman of the PLO, held discussions with his host, French President François Mitterrand. He charmed the French public and the media, received distinguished visitors, and even found time to visit the Louvre museum with French Culture Minister Jack Lang.

For President Arafat and the people of Palestine, the visit bordered on a triumph, helping to further the Palestinian people's pursuit of a sovereign state of their own. For France, particularly President Mitterrand, President Arafat's visit helped propel France back into the core issue of the Middle East.

To further understand the significance of President Arafat's visit, Bishara A. Bahbah, editor-in-chief of The Return, *interviewed Ibrahim Souss, the representative of the State of Palestine to France.*

Q: What was the objective of President Arafat's visit?

This visit, which took place between May 3 and 4, was part of the Palestinian diplomatic offensive to clarify and strengthen the resolutions adopted during the November 1988 meeting of the Palestine National Council. The visit came also as a reaffirmation of the Palestinian Declaration of Independence. Arafat was accorded the treatment normally reserved for heads of states.

Unquestionably, the visit marks a major turning point in the history of Palestinian diplomacy.

Another purpose of the visit was to maintain the degree of mobilization in the *Intifadah*. In other words, our actions outside are intended to energize the *Intifadah* by demonstrating to the Palestinians living under Israel's occupation that their sacrifices and courage are paying off diplomatically.

The third main objective behind the visit, was to increase France's involvement in the efforts to help resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. As of July 1, France will be heading the European Economic Community (EEC). France is also a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council.

Q: By extending the invitation to President Arafat to meet with him in Paris, what were the costs and benefits for President Mitterrand?

First of all, one has to point out that President Mitterrand is considered a close friend of Israel. In 1982, President Mitterrand became the first French president to visit Israel. This was viewed as an important gesture of friendship. And as recently as February of this year, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was in Paris meeting with President Mitterrand.

From President Mitterrand's view, President Arafat's visit was part of France's diplomatic endeavors aimed at helping to find a resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mitterrand was taking no risks by inviting President Arafat. The only people that felt alienated by Arafat's visit were those on the extreme right of the political spectrum. These people are already alienated.

With regard to the Jews of France, their anger demonstrated once again that they have conflicting allegiances, and when it comes to a choice between France and Israel, they choose Israel.

President Mitterrand considers it natural for him to be meeting with Israelis and Palestinians in the hopes of helping to create an atmosphere for reconciliation and dialogue.

Q: Did President Mitterrand ask President Arafat for a statement regarding the 1964 PLO Charter?

No. During the meeting between the two presidents, which I

attended, Mitterrand analyzed the current political situation as he saw it. He did request clarifications regarding the role of the Charter given the Palestinian Declaration of Independence and the political agenda adopted by the Palestine National Council in November of last year.

President Arafat responded by stating that the Charter has been superseded by the various resolutions of the Palestine National Council.

Q: What is the significance of President Arafat's trip from a Palestinian perspective?

Unquestionably, the visit marks a major turning point in the history of Palestinian diplomacy. It is the first time that the head of a Western permanent member of the U.N. Security Council receives President Arafat, and recognizes that there is a need to deal directly with the Palestinians themselves in order to solve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The visit to the Elysee Palace is as important as future visits to Number 10 Downing Street and the White House.

Again, President Arafat's successful and triumphant visit will help to boost the morale of our brothers and sisters living under Israel's occupation. This diplomatic breakthrough is an element that will help reinvigorate the *Intifadah*.

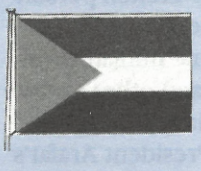
Q: What were the highlights of the visit?

The meeting at the Elysée Palace was definitely the highlight of the visit. Moreover, President Arafat met with all major French personalities. He held meetings, as well, with France's prime minister, its foreign minister, and other senior government officials. During the banquet held in President Arafat's honor, the entire diplomatic corps in France—154 ambassadors attended. There were four notable exceptions: the ambassadors of Israel, the United States, Syria, and South Africa.

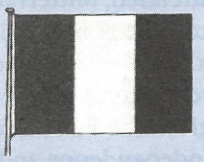
Q: Where will President Arafat's next stop be in Western Europe?

It is hard to predict. However, the British Foreign Office has already announced that Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary, will soon meet President Arafat for the first time. □

President Yasser Arafat surrounded on his right by Farouq Al-Qaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, and on his left Ibrahim Souss, the representative of the State of Palestine to France. Farida/Exclusive to *The Return*



Key Events in Palestinian-French Relations



November 1970	France became the first Western nation to vote in favor of a U.N. resolution stipulating that "the respect of the Palestinian rights is considered as a necessary element to implement a just and durable peace in the Middle East."
December 1972	Mahmoud Al-Hamshari, PLO representative to France assassinated.
October 1974	(President) Yasser Arafat met with French Foreign Affairs Minister Jean Sauvagnargues in Beirut, a week after France voted in favor of an Arab resolution demanding that the PLO participate in the discussions of the U.N. General Assembly. This was the first official meeting between a Western European official and Arafat.
October 1975	The French authorities formally allow the PLO to open an information and liaison office in Paris.
May 1975	Mahmoud Al-Salah, PLO representative to France assassinated.
August 1978	Izz Al-Deen Al-Kalaq, PLO representative to France assassinated.
June 1980	The European Summit of Venice recognizes that PLO participation in the peace process in the Middle East is a necessity. In that context, French President Valery Giscard D'Estaing declared that the "Palestinian people, which is utterly convinced of its right to exist, must participate in the peace process, and must exert its right to self-determination."
August 1981	French Foreign Affairs Minister Claude Cheysson held a meeting with (President) Yasser Arafat in the office of the Lebanese Prime Minister in Beirut. Cheysson met with Arafat on three other occasions—October 1982, July 1983, and August 1984.
January 1982	President Françoi*s Mitterrand became the first Western leader to meet with a delegation of West Bank Palestinian mayors.*
March 1982	French President Mitterrand, during his first official visit to Israel, addressed the Israeli Knesset and stated that: "The dialogue requires that any party exerts its right to a maximum, and for the Palestinians and others, this means the establishment of an independent state."
July 1982	French President Mitterrand, became the first French President to meet at the Elysée Palace, with a high Palestinian official, Farouq Al-Qaddoumi. Al-Qaddoumi was a member of an Arab League delegation. At that same time, both France and Egypt submitted a proposal to the U.N. Security Council that called for "a mutual and minimum recognition by both the Israelis and the Palestinians."
July 1982	Fadl Al-Dani, deputy PLO representative to Paris assassinated.
August 1982	France participated in a Western force sent to Beirut. This force provided (President) Arafat with safe passage guaranteed during Israel's siege of Beirut. France also began referring to the PLO as "the representative of the Palestinian struggle."
July 1986	PLO representative in France was invited to the Elysée Palace to participate in France's National Day.
January 1989	France upgraded the diplomatic status of the PLO office in Paris.

Arafat in Paris: "I Come Searching for Peace"

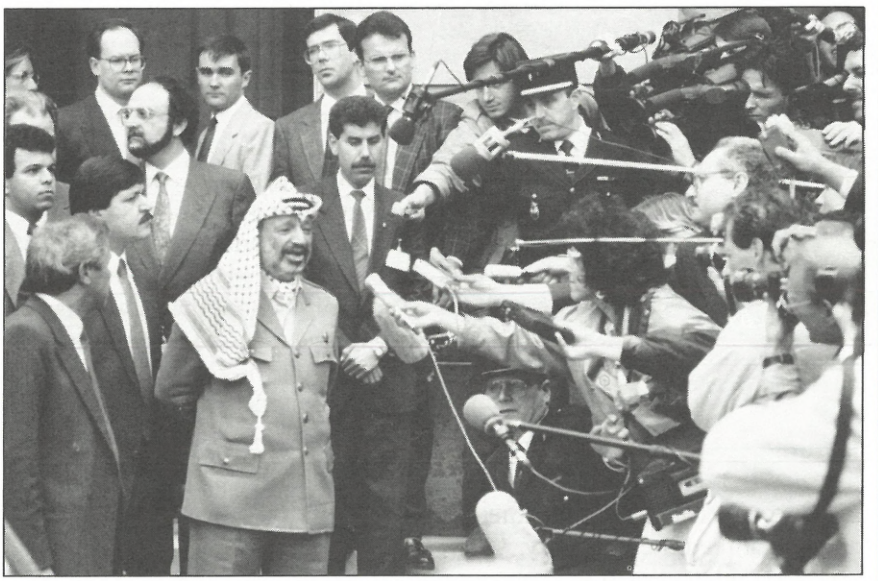
Raymonda H. Tawil

While the French people were gearing up to celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution, one of the most charismatic revolutionaries of the 20th century took Paris by storm. With all the honor due a freedom fighter and a president, the capital of France welcomed Palestinian President Yasser Arafat (Abu Ammar). At Orly International Airport, Arafat stepped off an Iraqi Airways' Jet Star onto a red carpet, wearing a military uniform and a *kaffiyeh*.

Arafat took his first step on French soil, which, like the soil of Palestine, is watered by the blood of martyrs. The red carpet called to mind the blood of the French martyrs, the underground French resistance, which fought many wars against foreign rule and fascism.

Many dignitaries and reporters were present for the occasion. Officially representing the French government in the honor pavilion was Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs Thierry De Beausset.

Security was tight, and one could see the *Commando Elite* patrolling the airport from the rooftops. Arafat had his own security team, *Force 17*. This was the first time that *Force 17* was allowed to enter Europe. A bullet-proofed Peugeot 604 was made available for Arafat's use. It was decorated with the emblem of the Public Forces and the flag of Palestine.



President Yasser Arafat addressing an impromptu press conference on the steps of the Elysée presidential palace. photo by Farida/Exclusive to *The Return*

Yasser Arafat climbed into the waiting Peugeot and went directly to the *Palais d'Elysée*, the French presidential palace, accompanied by four members of *Force 17*, the palace's chief of protocol, Director of the PLO Political Department Farouq Al-Qaddoumi, and the State of Palestine's Representative to France Ibrahim Souss.

While Arafat was walking up the steps before the *Palais d'Elysée*, a boy and a girl, each wearing a *kaffiyeh* and carrying flowers, approached and greeted him.

L'Humanité reported that a six-year-old girl was on her way home from school in the Shati refugee camp when an Israeli soldier shot her in the head and killed her. It seems to have happened at the same time that Arafat walked up the steps to the *Palais d'Elysée*. Although he was not aware, that little girl's spirit, no doubt, was there for the occasion as well.

With flashing bulbs, photographers blindingly mobbed Abu Ammar. Over 500 journalists were at the palace waiting for him to arrive.

Once inside the *Palais d'Elysée*, Arafat made his official greetings and stood to address the French public. There was also another meeting later, a *tête-à-tête* between Arafat and Mitterrand. But at the public address he gave in the *Palais d'Elysée*, Arafat said that his visit is itself a mission of peace. He expressed the gratitude of the Palestinian people, and indeed his own personal gratitude, to the people of France and their leader, President François Mitterrand, for their help. He thanked them for rescuing Palestinian militiamen in

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Raymonda H. Tawil is publisher of The Return.

photo by Farida/Exclusive to *The Return*

"Welcome to France."

Beirut in 1982, and again in Tripoli in 1983. In both instances, French ships saved Palestinian militiamen and guaranteed their security.

Arafat said he was in Paris to celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the French flag, the symbol of the three principles: equality, liberty, and fraternity. These same three principles are represented in the colors of the French flag.

> I did not come to purchase arms. I come according to your principle of the revolution—searching for peace and freedom for my people. Peace for us and for the Jewish people. Peace for our people to coexist with the people and the State of Israel, side by side.

Arafat also spoke of the Holocaust. He spoke sadly and regretfully that the Holocaust should have happened at all.

> We are very sorry about, and denounce the Holocaust, but we did not make the Holocaust. [We empathize with the Jews victimized by the Nazis, because] every day, in fact, we have our own Holocaust in occupied Palestine.

By now, "*caduc*" has become a famous word. Arafat used it when he addressed criticism for not revoking the PLO Covenant. Charismatically, Arafat pronounced the French word "*caduc*" without an accent. He smiled and said—

> *C'est caduc*. I was elected on a political platform based on the acceptance of two states.

Though these magnetic words could not move the officials in Israel, they fell on the French audiences' ears like a bombshell.

In reporting on Arafat's visit, French news announcers noted the unusually hot weather in Paris. They commented that Arafat had brought *le soleil de desert* (the desert sun) with him. And all of Paris was smiling at Arafat's remarks about *caduc*. Everywhere, the French opened their Larousse dictionaries. And "*caduc*" was translated into every language.

Caduc means fallen into disuse; something replaced. Thus the PLO Covenant, in *caduc*, has fallen into disuse; it has been replaced by the Palestinian Declaration of Independence.

And so Arafat wrapped up his address to the French public not only as an important statesman, but also as a sharp and witty thinker.

Later, Arafat attended a banquet held in his honor by the *Institute de Monde Arabe* (Institute of the Arab World), where, over 800 ambassadors and other officials, intellectuals, old militants, and notable Jewish and French personalities, came to celebrate the *Eid Al-Fitr* (a celebratory dinner on the occasion of the last day of fasting during Islam's holy month of Ramadhan).

Among those who seemed particularly delighted to meet Arafat at the banquet were French Culture Minister Jack Lang and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. The Palestinian poet and PLO Executive Committee Member Mahmoud Darwish, Yasser Abed Rabbo, another PLO Executive Committee member, French Undersecretary of State Thierry de Beausset, former Foreign Affairs Minister Claude Cheysson, and former Foreign Affairs Minister Jean Sauvagnargues were also present.

Arafat put flowers on the tomb of his representatives killed by the Israeli secret service, the *Mossad*, Mahmoud El-Hamdani, and Fadl Al-Dani. He also placed flowers on the grave of Izz Al-Deen Kalaq, who was killed by the infamous Abu Nidal. Ibrahim Souss was at his side. Souss had survived several assassination attempts thanks to the heavy French protection provided to him following the assassinations of his colleagues.

On his first day in Paris, Arafat spoke with former Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy of the assassination of Issam Salem, Arafat's personal representative in Lebanon. The president, according to Mauroy, was upset. And with determination, he declared that this is the reason that all parties must work toward peace.

On the second day of the visit, Arafat was shocked to learn of the assassination of another of his deputies in Lebanon. But Arafat transcended the expected hysteria caused by the killing of his assistants.

Like the French soil before it, the soil of Palestine, today more than ever before, is being watered with the blood of martyrs. Young souls are watering the Holy Land today, so that tomorrow others may live in freedom.

A French magazine, *L'Idiot Internationale* has published the names of the more than 400 Palestinians killed in the *Intifadah*. On the cover was a picture of Arafat in Paris, and inside, citing the leadership of the *Intifadah*, it gave the following casualty statistics for the Gaza Strip for the month of April alone:

- 430 wounded by live bullets

Top left pboto: **President Yasser Arafat with Mrs. Raymonda Tawil, publisher of *The Return*. Also shown here are French Culture Minister Jack Lang and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.**

Photo below: **President Arafat with French Foreign Minister Dumas (on Arafat's right) and Moroccan-Jewish singer, Sapho, on his left.**

photos by Farida/Exclusive to *The Return*

- 200 wounded by metalic bombs
- 490 sustained severe fractures in the head and body
- 120 suffered the effects of tear gas
- 10 aborted due to the effects of tear gas
- 13 were mortally injured
- One child was killed with a plastic bullet. He was nine years old.

Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called Arafat a Nazi.

Shamir made a fool of himself when he likened Arafat to the Nazis on the day commemorating the Holocaust. Somehow, ceremonies remembering the Holocaust ring empty while on the very day of commemoration, May 6, Israeli troops representing the commemorators wounded 200 Palestinians and killed at least three others.

Despite the hundreds of victims at Israeli hands in occupied Palestine while Arafat was meeting with Mauroy, Arafat said he denounces terrorism and is ready to accept the U.N. resolutions recognizing Israel.

To put an end to this immeasurable suffering, Arafat's message was clear: "I do not come to Paris to purchase arms. I come searching for peace for my people and for the Jewish people."

And while Arafat's pictures were hanging in demonstrations in occupied Palestine to protest the brutality inflicted upon the Palestinian people, about 10,000 Jews in Paris demonstrated outside a synagogue where a car bomb killed four persons in October 1980. According to United Press International, a neo-Nazi group was believed to have been responsible for the attack. But the Jewish community in France blamed Libya and the PLO.

The demonstrators chanted "Arafat is an assassin, Mitterrand his accomplice." Mitterrand, known as a friend of the Jewish people and of Israel, was very upset. The demonstrators were wild. They tried to break through a double police line to head toward the Champs Elysée.

Another demonstration of about 15,000 French, Arabs, and progressive Jews paraded through the streets of Paris. These demonstrators thanked Mitterrand for receiving Arafat. They supported the establishment of a Palestinian state. Whereas the attitude of the previous demonstration was somehow hostile, the atmosphere in this demonstration was festive: the slogans were positive, and all sorts of music from pop to Middle Eastern were sung.

More than 60 percent of the French population was in favor of Arafat's visit. And according to recent polls, more than half of all Israelis favor the idea of holding negotiations with the PLO. In a cable addressed to Ibrahim Souss, the representative of the State of Palestine to France, a number of Jewish groups recognized the importance of this visit and asked to meet with Arafat. These same Jewish groups sent a message to Mitterrand thanking him for his initiative in the important role that France is playing.

Still, unfortunately, the conservative elements in the Jewish community had a strong voice.

They accused Arafat of being a terrorist and a man bent on destroying peace. However, the French press was very critical of these positions.

Mark Halter, the French-Jewish writer, was one of those who welcomed Arafat's visit. He had met Arafat last summer. Halter commented that in politics, what is moral is what is efficient. Halter proclaimed the visit a success because Arafat clarified the PLO's position regarding the Charter.

Hamid el-Sid, the Arab League Ambassador to France appeared on a television news program with Theo Klein, President of the Council of French Jewish Institutions. El-Sid declared that the French-Jewish leaders are less open to dialogue than all the Jews in the West. He accused them of stealing their representative mandate, and using uncalled for emotions to distort the issues.

As for André Azoulai, president of *Entente and Dialogue*, he welcomed the visit and defended the PLO's position. He appeared opposite a radical Jewish partner, who accused him of collaborating with the other side and forgetting the Holocaust. Then Azoulai sadly remembered the crime of the Holocaust. And he reminded his debating partner that the children, the innocent people killed daily, must not go unnoticed.

With all the hot weather and the hot debate on radios and televisions the morning of the arrival, Ibrahim Souss was on television with Theo Klein, Jean Danielle, and Simone Veil. They were discussing the visit. They all sounded positive.

I do not come to Paris to purchase arms. I come searching for peace for my people and for the Jewish people.

—Yasser Arafat

Arafat's visit to Paris marks a major turning point in Palestinian diplomacy. It is both a diplomatic and a political event as it will give the stalled peace process a great push forward.

Mitterrand is aware of France's prestige and influence in the world, especially in the Arab World. It is a great honor to have had Mitterrand take the iniative on the eve of the French Revolution's bicentennial anniversary to try and solve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The French president, helped by his wise counsellors and former foreign ministers, took on this responsibility despite the extraordinary complexity of the problem. Mitterrand also had wide public support, the support of the French intellectuals, and the help of important Jewish personalities open to dialogue and coexistence.

The true friends of Israel, and the true friends of justice and peace, have not abandoned Israel, simply because Mitterrand took on the responsibility to push the peace process. Washington should prepare itself for an angry pro-Israel lobby. It should guide the Jewish-American community toward peace—and prepare it for Arafat's visit to Washington.

According to one Arab proverb, "A true friend is a friend who tells you the truth and does not cheat you." □

Algiers
الجزائر
40 Brattle Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
617 492-1557

American Alliance for Palestinian Human Rights
Information Clearinghouse **342-8347**

Use touch tone phone. Always enter # after number. Check menu often.

12	Information Menu	6	TBA
2	Calendar of Events	7	TBA
3	Human Rights Reports	8	TBA
4	Organizations	9	About AAPHR
5	Humanitarian Organizations	10	HELP (operating system)

2435 Virginia Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

AIPAC Adopts New Anti-PLO Strategy

Raphael Calis

The word is out in Tel Aviv and Washington: Get your best guns out and score direct hits. The PLO's recent roller-coaster successes must be stopped—no matter what the price!

After an initial period of uncertainty and disarray, the pro-Israel lobby in Washington jumped into action. Behind closed doors on Capitol Hill, it has set into motion its new multipronged strategy to attack the Palestine Liberation Organization.

One only has to read the endless, anti-Arab diatribes of former U.N. envoy Jean Kirkpatrick and *The New York Times* columnists A. M. Rosenthal and William Safire to know how the Israeli lobby is thinking and what it is planning to do next. In recent months, these three writers have turned out to be the darlings—the very mouthpieces—of Israel's supporters in the United States.

The pro-Israel lobby's objectives are clear:

a) foil all the gains that the Palestinians have scored locally, regionally, and internationally as a result of the historic decisions adopted by the Palestine National Council in Algiers and through the Geneva declarations last December;

b) divert attention from the Palestinian successes achieved by the *Intifadah* (Uprising);

One only has to read the endless, anti-Arab diatribes of former U.N. envoy Jean Kirkpatrick and The New York Times *columnists A. M. Rosenthal and William Safire to know how the Israeli lobby is thinking and what it is planning to do next.*

c) create a rift between the United States and the PLO that would eventually cause the collapse of the fragile dialogue launched in Tunis last December at the end of the Reagan administration's term in office; and

d) dampen the effects of Israel's loss of support in the United States and cover up the serious split that has developed within the Jewish-American community.

There is a growing fear among pro-Israel activists that the Bush administration is stacking the deck against Israel. They fear that the Bush administration may want to force Israel to talk directly to the PLO and cede the Palestinian land it occupies in return for a final peace settlement.

However, achieving the four goals listed above will not be easy. Foiling all the political gains the PLO has been able to achieve in the last year, even if achievable in the United States, would be difficult in the rest of the world. And it is really the opinion of the world community, not U.S. public opinion, that has dragged the U.S. government into a dialogue with the PLO. Both Israel and its U.S. lobbies have tried to interfere with the U.S.-PLO dialogue, but so far, the Bush administration has not fallen for their arguments.

Furthermore, the *Intifadah*, now halfway through its second year, is getting stronger. And it has gained formidable support internationally, and even in the United States. Despite the hardship and violence to which the Palestinian people have been subjected, they are more determined than ever to confront the occupation. Thus, the *Intifadah* will continue. So will news coverage, though it may be less thorough than before, of the beatings and the killings of Palestinian civilians at the hands of Israeli soldiers and Jewish settlers.

The broad outlines of this defensive, multipronged strategy have surfaced in the last month. It is being led by Israel's infamous Washington lobby, the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). As usual, the pro-Israel lobby is diverse, sophisticated, methodical, unrelenting, and mean,

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NEAR EAST REPORT

WASHINGTON WEEKLY ON AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST VOL. XXXIII, NO. 18 MAY 1, 1989

EDITORIAL

Modern Day Pharaohs

At this time of year, Jews all over the world have celebrated the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. At the same time, they also reflect on the plight of their fellow Jews who remain enslaved by the disciples of Ramses.

In Syria, only 4,500 Jews remain. They are not permitted to emigrate to Israel or practice their religion freely. [illegible] could release

Anguish In Lebanon

On a day when fighting in Lebanon killed at least 10 people in some of the worst violence since the civil war in 1975, the *New York Times* reserved a larger headline for a report of five Palestinians killed in Israel. The same day (Apr. 18), the *Washington Post* led its international news section with a story headlined: "Feud Over Temple Mount Resurfaces." The *Post* ran two other stories about Israel and had only a [illegible] Lebanon in

AIPAC

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

[illegible] staged [illegible] the White House last [illegible] out the major organizations have remained silent. The American Arab Anti-

American Inaction Worrisome

Given this lack of concern, it is not surprising that the administration has taken such an

(Continued on page 70)

[illegible] with a representative of the Ethiopian Jews and pledged his commitment to help. Reps. Mickey Leland (D-TX), Gary Ackerman (D-NY), and Michael McNulty (D-NY) recently returned from a meeting with Mengistu Haile Mariam who said he wanted to upgrade relations with the United States. Such a move, combined with the Soviets' reduction in support for the Marxist government, might provide an opening for American diplomacy to broker a deal to free Ethiopia's Jews.

Many American Jews remember when the United States did not do all it could for Jews persecuted abroad. Consequently, it is sometimes necessary to remind ourselves that we must not only celebrate our own freedom, but fight for that of others.

VIEWING THE NEWS

Israel: The Miracle Rain Maker

Israel has a reputation for being the "best rain-enhancing country in the world," according to Dan Brown, director of Electrical and Mechanical Services (EMS). EMS, a subsidiary of Israel's water authority, in conjunction with Hebrew and Tel Aviv Universities, has helped make rain by seeding suitable cloud formations, selected by radar, with silver iodide particles.

According to a recent *Jerusalem Post* article, Italy, South Africa, Australia, South American and black African countries have contacted EMS for assistance in cloud-seeding. Brown declined to comment if any Arab countries expressed an interest in the program.

An EMS team in Sicily is conducting research in preparation for cloud-seeding since meteorological conditions in Israel and Italy are similar. The Italians are spending $470,000 on the program and plan to send scientists and technicians to Israel to see how the project is operated. The Italian program will be the first to benefit from Israel's expertise, which was first offered abroad less than two years ago.

According to Brown, 15% of Israel's annual rainfall is due to cloud-seeding by EMS. The company also offers a similar process to suppress hail. □

but it is not necessarily fatal. The PLO has become sophisticated enough in recent years to be able to stand up to such onslaughts and to fight back. The PLO has even succeeded in preempting such maneuvers.

The PLO's forcing of Washington into recognizing it and opening a dialogue is the best proof of the PLO's own skillful diplomacy and its ability to counterattack. These insightful moves also paved the way for worldwide recognition of the Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip even before its inception on Palestinian land.

The mounting campaign that Israel and its supporters are currently waging against the PLO in the United States is nothing but a clear admission of these Palestinian successes—an admission that these successes have caused strong apprehensions among hardline Israelis, Jewish Americans, and Israel's supporters in the Congress and the Bush administration.

While it is still too early to declare it a success or failure, the pro-Israel lobby's strategy, its mechanisms and objectives, can be clearly read. The pro-Israel campaign against the PLO has manifested itself through the media, through statements by top administration officials, and through lobbying in the U.S. Congress.

A careful monitoring of AIPAC's activities in recent weeks reveals at least seven issues upon which AIPAC has been focusing:

a) AIPAC tried to "expose" allegedly contradictory statements by various PLO officials about Palestinian long-term intentions toward Israel. The idea is to show the United States that the PLO has no intention of adhering to the principles outlined by Palestinian President and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in Geneva last December.

To prove its point, Israel, acting through AIPAC prepared a long list of quotes from several PLO officials, including Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) and Farouq Al-Qaddoumi (Abu Lutof). AIPAC argued that the Palestinians will not be satisfied with a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and that their objective still remains the liberation of all the land of Palestine which incorporates the State of Israel within the 1948 borders.

It is not coincidental that Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was the first to cite these quotes at length during an appearance before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington on April 13.

On that same day, four pro-Israel congressmen used the same quotes of Abu Iyad and Abu Lutof during testimony before Congress by Secretary of State James Baker. It was obvious that AIPAC or the Israeli embassy had provided the same list to these congressmen.

Less than a week later, and reportedly despite State Department protests, a House bill was introduced in Congress requiring the president to report to Congress twice a year on the statements and actions of PLO officials. In each report, the president would have to compare these statements and actions with Arafat's declarations in Geneva—no mean task for State Department officials. A Senate bill was soon also passed and contained the same House bill stipulations. It was entitled the "PLO Commitments Compliance Act."

But unlike the past, it did not take long for a PLO official to fire back against such allegations. Dr. Nabil Shaath, advisor to Arafat, who was visiting Washington at the same time, did not lose time in exposing a long list of contradictory statements made by various Israeli officials about Israel's own hidden intentions. He also refuted all the statements made by Shamir during his highly publicized appearances in various American cities in mid-April.

Shaath, an articulate spokesman who is well tuned to an American audience, noted the fact that Shamir himself had contradicted his own public statements at the White House on April 6 concerning Israeli intentions when he made an

appearance before the American Enterprise Institute. Shaath also listed statements made by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and other top cabinet officials that were in direct contradiction with the principles that Shamir had been upholding during his U.S. tour.

b) AIPAC set out to publicize its own allegations that the PLO was directly responsible for the raids that were being mounted against Israel from southern Lebanon. The objective, of course, was to convince Washington that the PLO is still practicing terrorism against Israel despite Arafat's renunciation of terrorism in Geneva.

The Bush administration, however, snubbed Israel by making it clear that it did not consider attacks against military targets to be a form of terrorism. Washington was equally cognizant of the fact that Israel was in southern Lebanon as an occupying power.

c) Israel and many of its lobbying arms, AIPAC included, sought to pin responsibility for the downing of the Pan Am jumbo jet over Scotland on an extremist Palestinian organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC). This unfounded allegation was pursued, although all the authorities directly concerned (British, West German, and American) repeatedly said there was no tangible proof that the Palestinian group had carried out the operation.

d) AIPAC sought to exaggerate and publicize that Palestinians were killing other Palestinians in occupied Palestine for collaborating with Israel. AIPAC wanted to drive home the point that the Palestinians were "still practicing terrorism," even against each other, to silence the moderate voices among them.

Israeli journalists and their supporters in the U.S. media sought for days to raise this issue during the daily briefings at the State Department in early May. However, they did not succeed in soliciting anything but a vague response.

The mounting campaign that Israel and its supporters are currently waging against the PLO in the United States is nothing but a clear admission of these Palestinian successes.

It was not coincidental that the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA), a pro-Israel media watch group founded during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, organized a seminar entitled, "The Other Side of the *Intifadah*—Victims of Arab Terror."

e) Under the leadership of Arab League Ambassador to the United States Clovis Maksoud, the Arab countries were trying to bring about a reopening of the PLO's Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington, D.C. The PIO, headed by Hassan Abdul Rahman, was closed by the Reagan administration in 1986 following legislation enacted by Congress. But, in both the Congress and the State Department, AIPAC has lobbied hard against the Arab countries' attempts to reopen the PIO, and questions seeking a response to the reopening efforts were being tabled.

It appears that U.S. Secretary of State Baker has fallen for pro-Israel pressure on this point as he informed three Arab ambassadors who met with him in early May that he believed the time was not yet ripe for such a move, which has complex legislative implications. What he seemed to be saying is that the administration can do for now without such a confrontation with Congress or with the pro-Israel lobby.

f) AIPAC has spearheaded a campaign aimed at forcing the administration to reject and resist the attempts by the PLO and the Arab countries to get the PLO admitted to the World Health Organization (WHO) and other United Nations agencies as a full-fledged member state.

Thirty-eight senators did not lose any time in personally writing to Secretary of State Baker opposing such moves and warning him that Congress will act to withhold funds from those international organizations that vote to admit the PLO as a member state. Three days after he received the letter, Baker succumbed to the pressure and issued a strongly worded statement warning that the United States, which pays 25 percent of WHO's annual budget, will withdraw its contributions if the PLO is admitted as a member state.

g) Finally, AIPAC is seeking to focus American eyes and attention on the need for elections in occupied Palestine as the necessary next step in the peace process touted by Shamir during his April visit to Washington.

The idea, of course, is to divert attention away from the Palestinian *Intifadah* and away from Israel's escalating mistreatment of Palestinians—away from the mounting Palestinian casualties in occupied Palestine.

And, by so doing, Israel and its lobby were seeking to prevent any talk about the need for an international conference, or to stifle Arab arguments that an international peace conference would be the only means to bring about a comprehensive settlement.

Unfortunately, the Bush administration, which lacked its own agenda on the Middle East, quickly fell for the Shamir plan despite some reservations. The Israeli prime minister thus succeeded in dictating the agenda for the next phase in yet another bid to avert strong pressures from Washington. □

Al-Intifadah
The People's Choice

Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi

We did not choose to be *born* Palestinian, but once born, we have chosen to *be* Palestinian, to give substance to our identity, to live up to the name.

The Meaning of the *Intifadah*

The *Intifadah* is our response to all those who thought, at one time or another, that a nation could be eradicated by denial, persecution, and exile. It is our pledge to the dispossessed among us and our promise of redemption for all our people. It is a humble tribute to that most human statement of endurance, courage, and hope etched in our collective memory by our brothers and sisters in the camps of Lebanon. It is a statement of faith in our leadership, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is entrusted with our future and the future of our children. To all of us, the *Intifadah* is a statement of conviction and a way of life.

And like all statements of self-realization, it is a dialectical interaction between paradoxical opposites. The *Intifadah* conveys

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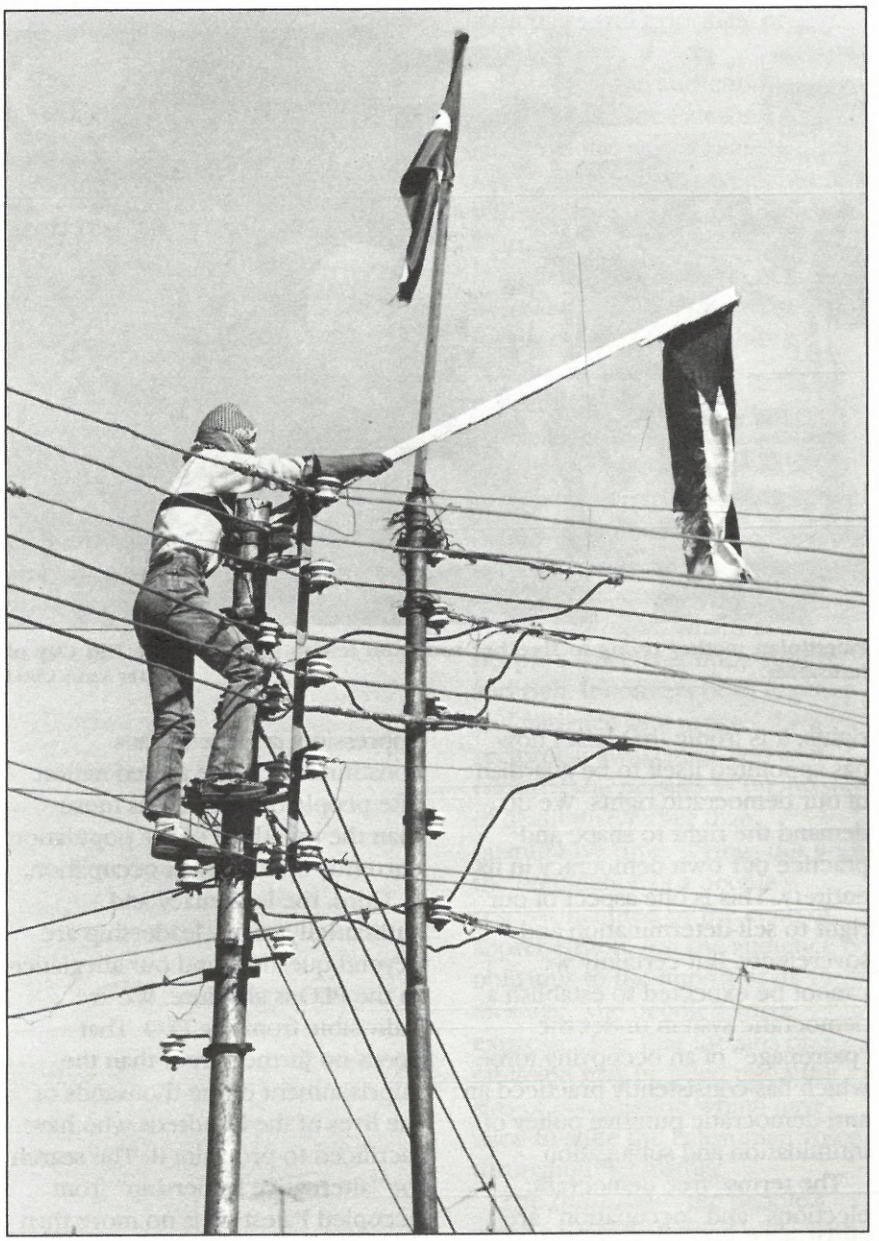
Family on street named after their teenaged martyr, Salfit, West Bank.

photo by Neal Cassidy/ courtesy of *Roots*

at once the pride of a nation as it is emerging, and the nation's humility before the magnitude of the occasion. Confident in its achievements —delegitimizing the Israeli occupation while validating the authentic Palestinian will—it has created a fair and alternative reality to negate the unjust distortion which the occupation had tried to impose.

The *Intifadah*'s pride is the pride of a people who have forged national unity in the searing kiln of determination and sacrifice, welding together a oneness of purpose, a oneness of being, and a holistic vision of peace and justice. The health of our nation, the integrity of its identity, and the authenticity of its fabric are all indivisible from its collective commitment to the *Intifadah* as a self-generating, self-sustaining act of rejuvenation and pride. The *Intifadah* cannot be used as a bargaining chip, to be turned "on" and "off" to serve political strategies, or at the request of our Israeli or American friends to fit into an artificially conceived "peace construct."

Nor can the *Intifadah* be manipulated as a test of authority for either the PLO or the United Nations, for it is the embodiment of the unity between the Palestinian people and their leadership. The mere request for further proofs of Palestinian unity, Palestinian allegiance to the PLO, or the Palestinian desire for peace, is patronizing. It is also an attempt to belittle the Palestinian peace stance and evade the true challenge of peace.



Hoisting the flag. photo by Neal Cassidy/courtesy of *Roots*

Shamir's Plan

Those who wish to "reduce the tension" would be wiser to seek an end to the occupation, not the suspension of the *Intifadah*. The real source of violence and "tension" is the occupation itself. The occupation disrupts our lives and violates our rights. Let us not treat the symptoms, but the actual disease. Only then will the symptoms disappear.

This is also why we reject all attempts to trivialize our stance. Temporary and partial solutions or the resuscitation of moribund proposals in the guise of "local elections," "limited self-rule," or "low-visibility occupation" are attempts to circumvent the Palestinian will and side-step central issues. Hence, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's attempt to repackage stale and obsolete "proposals"—which the *Intifadah* had already relegated to the dustbin of history—is no more than a feeble and ill-disguised escape from the imperatives of peace.

Such a pseudo-initiative is clearly evasive. It is an attempt to deceive the people and give an appearance of motion, but it is motion without direction. It is an attempt to extricate Israel from its morass of political and moral bankruptcy, but it lacks any genuine commitment to a lasting and comprehensive solution. It misleads the public by distracting its attention from central issues in pursuit of a Chimera which exists only in Shamir's mind.

We have an apt saying in Arabic: "The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse." Nevertheless, a response is due to Shamir's pathetic plan.

First, having deprived the Palestinians of their most basic

Palestinian mother trying to free her son from Jewish settlers in the Old City of Jerusalem. photo by Azzam Obeid

Those who wish to "reduce the tension" would be wiser to seek an end to the occupation, not the suspension of the Intifadah.

rights, it is ironic that Israel now has appointed itself to be guardian of our democratic rights. We do demand the right to shape and practice our own democracy in its entirety. This is one aspect of our right to self-determination and sovereignty. But certainly we cannot be expected to establish a democratic system under the "patronage" of an occupying force which has consistently practiced an anti-democratic punitive policy of intimidation and subjugation.

The terms "free democratic elections" and "occupation" are mutually exclusive. And for us that exclusivity is concrete and tangible in the reality of the prolonged and painful occupation. The sad fate of many of our emerging popular leaders is a constant reminder; it is an example of Israel's attitude toward democracy.

Second, the unity of Palestinian people everywhere—in exile or under occupation—is unquestionable. It is an essential fact of life. Our commitment to a comprehensive solution, to be reached through an international conference, based on the recognition of our national rights and identity, is applicable to all Palestinians as a complete nation. Regardless of the objective differences in the nature of our oppression, *all* Palestinians constitute the same united nation. The people of Palestine is more than the one-third of the population currently under Israeli occupation.

Third, the legitimacy and authenticity of our leadership are beyond question, and our allegiance to the PLO is absolute. We are indivisible from the PLO. That needs no further proof than the imprisonment of the thousands or the lives of the hundreds who have sacrificed to proclaim it. The search for "alternative leadership" from occupied Palestine is no more than an exercise in futility.

Fourth, a holistic, mature, and imaginative Palestinian peace initiative has been formulated and offered. It is an equitable and workable solution to the conflict. But no response has been forthcoming from the Israeli government, which does not exhibit the same degree of courage, responsibility, and foresight.

All attempts to gnaw or whittle away at the Palestinian initiative will undermine the foundations of peace, but they will not be capable of diminishing its proportions or disfiguring its form. Peace can never be the outcome of an arbitrary "trial and error" policy, or the result of a negative, partial selection of incomplete components. Peace can only result from a total and coherent plan. A necessary prerequisite to any peace process is the commitment to clear and final objectives—in this case Palestinian self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state. Concrete, transitional steps can then be pursued provided they are logically coherent and capable of achieving these objectives.

Fifth, no amount of cosmetic surgery, semantic acrobatics, or diversionary tactics can disguise the true and abhorrent nature of the occupation or transform it into a palatable and legitimate state of being. The Palestinians cannot be lured into an international game of Trivial Pursuit.

Furthermore, a peace plan should not become a rescue mission to save the oppressor from the consequences of his actions. Nor should a nation's sovereignty be held hostage to the political manipulations and priorities of its oppressor. We are not "inhabitants of the territories," for we are the stuff that nations are made of. Our rights are not to be reduced to mere "legitimate political rights," for we clearly claim and proclaim those universal rights of all nations

which no colonial or occupying power can eradicate. We claim our birthright and the truth of our vision, for the *Intifadah* is our national epiphany, and the inevitable birth of our state is its fulfillment.

We stand in awe of the moment, in humility before the Palestinian people's collective endeavor, guided by the ethos of reconciliation and moral rectification which has given substance to this expression of humanity and peace. The *Intifadah*'s humility is that of a nation which has reached deep into its innermost reserves of endurance and strength, and brought forth into the light a genuine vision and definitive values. The *Intifadah*'s humility is that of the collective recognition of the power inherent in unanimity, in the equal sharing of risk and responsibility, and in the comprehensive involvement in state-building from within.

It is with a sense of wonder and humility that we have scaled the wall of fear that the occupation had erected to try to block our vision. Now we have discovered vast expanses of promise and potential on the horizon, and with that discovery, we have gained self-knowledge.

We are not a vindictive nation harboring resentment or hate, nourishing bitterness in the dark and then spewing it out in a vengeful program of destruction. Rather, we have committed ourselves to a light-filled life, denying the sun to no one, claiming what is ours without depriving others of what is theirs, building a future without destroying the past, and healing wounds which were not of our making.

In this blend of pride and humility, we speak out with the full conviction of a single people. The clarity and simplicity of our utterance fills the vacuum left by the absence of peace. A people's voice cannot tolerate circumlocution, "hidden agendas," or equivocation, nor does it allow the imposition of spurious diction, alien structures and priorities, or censorship.

We are indivisible from the PLO. That needs no further proof than the imprisonment of the thousands or the lives of the hundreds who have sacrificed to proclaim it.

For once, the authentic resonance of the Palestinian voice has filled the world's ears. It does not seek to silence others, but it will not be silenced, nor deflected. If, in this, we offend some well-intentioned friends who genuinely believe that they know what is good for us, or who think that our manner of articulation and our perceptions and concerns are not entirely identical to those which they aspire to convey or achieve, we would like to assure them that we understand that peace is the sum total of all its different, but harmonious, components.

The *Intifadah*, which is the people's voice is at once austere and rich. It conveys both urgency and patience as it presses for a reciprocal awakening, and as it endures and persists as the master of qualitative rather than quantitative time. It rings out with the confidence of a people's resolve, haunted by the echo of apprehension, lest the audience be oblivious to the import of its message. The people's voice expresses fear that the sins of omission may be piled upon the sins of commission which have tried to stifle the Palestinian voice throughout its history.

The *Intifadah*—the people's voice—projects far and wide with the volume and clarity of exhilaration and hope, disturbing the silence of the complacent, and the sleep of the ignorant. But beneath its clamor is the profound and compelling silence of pain: the victims, the bereaved, the wounded, the expelled, the tortured, the imprisoned, and the detained. And just as loud is the silence of empty classrooms, uprooted gardens, and demolished houses. □

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Higher Education Under Occupation Realities and Challenges

Bernard Sabella

The emergence of a system of higher education in occupied Palestine can be attributed to a traditionally strong commitment to education among the Palestinians. This commitment was especially shaped by the turbulent political events under the British mandate, and facilitated by the presence of indigenous and foreign private schools in Palestine since the middle of the nineteenth century. Faced with growing political instability under the British mandate, the Palestinians turned to education. Ever since, they have clung to education as a primary source of personal security and national assertion and regeneration.

The system of higher education specifically in the West Bank and Gaza was developed in response to Israeli occupation and the obstacles confronting those youths eager to pursue a college education. Prior to 1967, most young people traveled to other parts of the Arab World, particularly Egypt and Lebanon, to get their college degrees. After 1967, young people were dissuaded by the Israelis from traveling to these countries for fear that they would pose a security threat upon their return.

Accordingly, an increasing number of young people, eager to study, remained in the country.

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The number of institutions that offer post-secondary education has approached 20 and these institutions serve the various educational needs of an estimated 20,000 Palestinian students.

Those who succeeded in going abroad to study never made it back, which meant that occupied Palestine was experiencing a "brain drain."

Confronted with this dilemma, Palestinian educators and community leaders made use of a Jordanian law that allows for educational institutions to expand their programs to the post-secondary level. In 1972, Bir Zeit, then a two-year college, announced that it was becoming a full-fledged four-year college. It changed its name from Bir Zeit College to Bir Zeit University. Bethlehem University was established in 1973 as a result of the Vatican's efforts to help offer quality education to Palestinian youths. Al-Najah in Nablus was transformed in 1977 from a teachers' training institute into a university. Meanwhile, Gaza Islamic University broke ground in 1978 with the help and supervision of Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Since then, the number of institutions that offer post-secondary education has approached 20 and these institutions serve the various educational needs of an estimated 20,000 Palestinian students.

The mushrooming of institutions of higher education has raised a number of questions, both academic and political. These questions, as well as others pertaining to the educational process in occupied Palestine, were addressed by Anthony Thrall Sullivan in a monograph, "Palestinian Universities Under Occupation," that appeared in the Summer 1988 issue of the *Cairo Papers in Social Science*. Sullivan concluded that the four universities he examined rate well by American standards. He cites American sources that speak favorably of the academic quality of the programs offered by these universities, and it is not hard to find Palestinian students pursuing post graduate studies, and doing quite well, in many universities outside their homeland. The system of higher education in occupied Palestine is able to sustain academic quality.

Education Under Occupation

But academic quality is only one part of higher education in an occupied country. More importantly, politics seems to be overpowering in determining the

very functioning and viability of these institutions.

Since the start of the *Intifadah*, the Israeli occupation authorities have shut down all educational institutions, even elementary and secondary schools in the West Bank and Gaza. While the closure orders are individual and renewable on a monthly basis, the universities have ceased to function since January 1988. Forced lengthy closures have paralyzed the system of higher education. Both students and faculty members while away their time waiting for the reopening of their universities with mounting frustration and anger. And the logistics of reopening the universities and getting them back on schedule is itself a problem agonizing the administrators and faculty. The longer schools are closed, the more problematic reopening will become.

Palestinians feel that the closure of educational institutions is just one way the Israelis get back at them for continuing the *Intifadah*.

The antagonistic yet symbiotic relationship between the Israeli occupation and the system of higher education is best illustrated by the irreconcilable expectations from the system held by both Palestinians and Israelis. The Israelis allowed the system to develop with the hope that it would—a) discourage the youth from going to universities in the rest of the Arab World where they might make contact with "hostile" organizations, i.e., the PLO; b) absorb high school graduates' idle time which otherwise would be spent on political activity; c) make it relatively easy to monitor political trends and developments by concentrating the segment of the population most likely to become politically active on a handful of campuses; and d), improve Israel's public image abroad.

The Israelis' expectations were heightened when a series of measures was passed aimed at keeping tight control over the universities. Thus, foreign faculty members are required to get an annual permit to stay and teach at these universities. Palestinian faculty members who are actively involved in university affairs are often called to military headquarters for discussions, questions, and warnings. Others who are actively involved with unions or other organizations are often arrested.

The oppression of students is

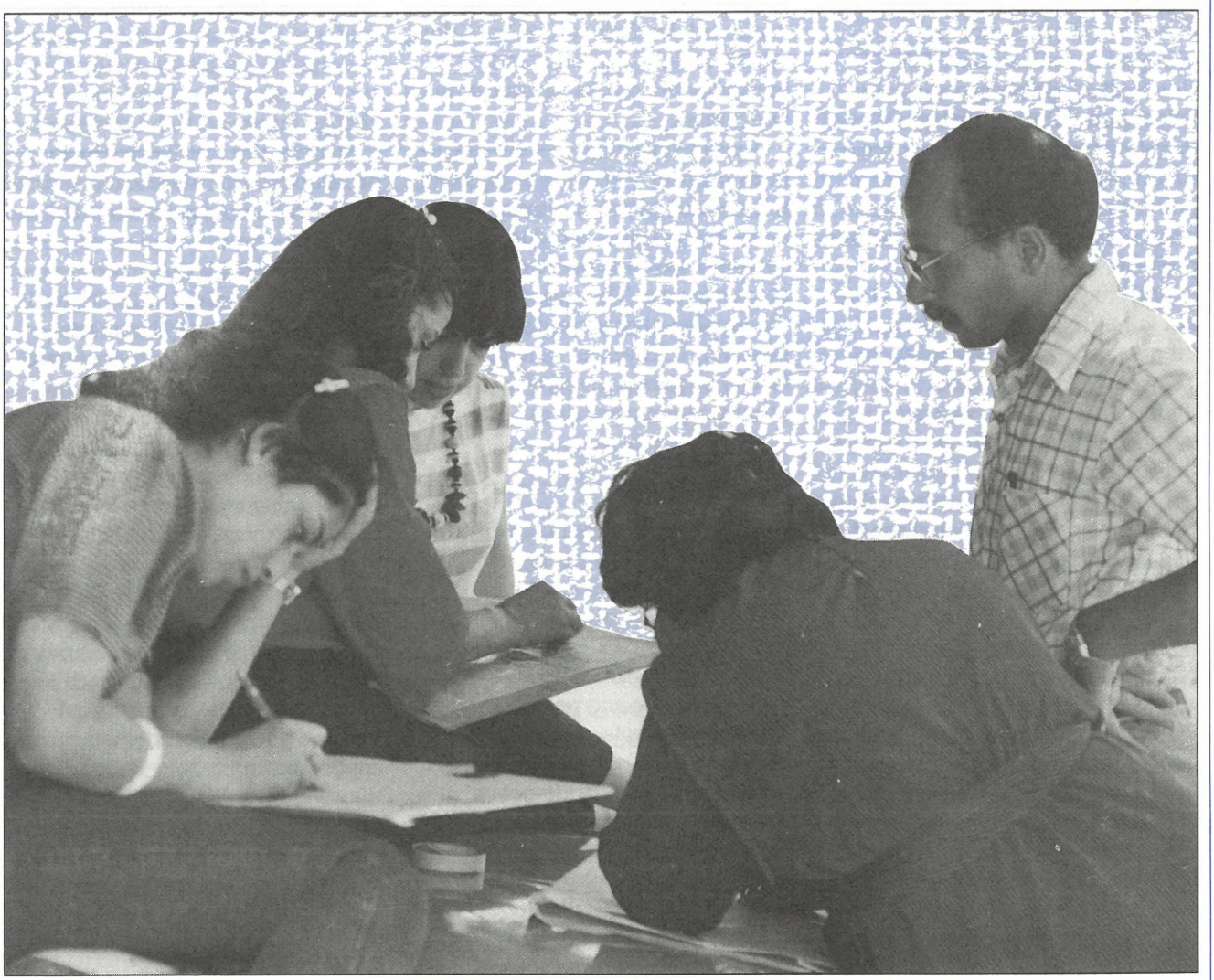


photo from *An-Najah Message*

Students at An-Najah University in Nablus, West Bank, preparing for exams in December of 1985.

even more arbitrary and intrusive. Arrests of students are common. Israeli soldiers at roadblocks around the universities often disrupt classes and round up students for questioning. In addition, the Israeli occupation authorities can dictate which educational programs are allowed and which are not. They use their power of censorship in the classroom to stop "unacceptable" programs or perspectives, and to ban books and other publications considered hostile to Israel or the Jewish people. Yet, most of the banned books are in circulation at the libraries of Israeli universities.

On the other hand, Palestinian expectations from the educational system include quality education and the reaffirmation of Palestinian culture. Cultural reaffirmation is most important at a time when economic dependence and occupation policies have been slowly and *forcibly* changing the Palestinian cultural heritage. While Palestinian educators do not see their institutions as necessarily political, the conditions under which they operate are unavoidably political.

And students, being students, do not fail to react to the political events taking place around them. They commemorate those important, though often tragic events in Palestinian history such as the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, the U.N. Partition Plan of November 29, 1947, and the day that British troops left Palestine and Israel was declared a state, May 15, 1948. Often on such days of remembrance, Israeli military roadblocks surround the campuses and prevent people from entering. Palestinians joke about the timeliness of these roadblocks saying that the Israeli military's calendar of Palestinian events is up-to-date.

But because of the tense political situation, the universities cannot function without interruption, and this leads to a discontinuity in the students' education. It is rare for a Palestinian university to finish its academic year as scheduled. The occupation authorities may interfere with a single semester as many as 10 times, each time closing the school for a couple of weeks or as long as three months. These interruptions take their toll on both the faculty and the students, and inevitably the quality of education also suffers.

Forced lengthy closures have paralyzed the system of higher education.

A strict "make-up" system has been instituted in many of these universities whereby classes are held on weekends and during summers to finish the two-semester academic year. This guards against the erosion of academic standards, however, it leaves no time for the faculty to pursue research and other academic activities.

Basic vs. Applied Research

While some Palestinian educators have a tendency to stress the importance of traditional basic research, others disagree and argue that neither the Palestinian universities' means nor their socioeconomic and political situation allows for pure research. This is an important debate because some educators outside occupied Palestine complain that without sufficient research, the universities could become "diploma factories" thus losing their credibility.

However, the argument stands that much needs to be accomplished for Palestinian society itself. Palestinian educators could improve the body of knowledge in many areas and come up with workable proposals in such fields as education, health, economics, business administration, the environment, handicapped services, and more, to better serve their own people. The idea of published research in scholarly journals is fine and should not be discouraged, but at this time in Palestinian history it should not be a top priority of Palestinian universities.

When compared with the United States and other countries, the system of higher education in occupied Palestine is in its infancy. For this very reason, the Palestinian system has adopted the American model of liberal arts education. While this model is to be applauded for encouraging critical and innovative thinking among the students, its application in a society undergoing a military occupation and intense political and social change may need to be reviewed.

Many of the 1,500 Palestinian professors in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are American trained and educated, and they feel quite comfortable with the American model. But whereas in the United States the faculty of liberal arts colleges can afford to concentrate on purely academic pursuits, the situation in occupied Palestine does not allow for this luxury.

Priority should go toward encouraging faculty members to become experts in their fields as they apply practically to the conditions existing in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Professors and teachers need to take on more of a problem solving approach to education under occupation. Besides, once the academics pursue applied research, they will find that they will be able to produce publishable material that can still compete in international journals and academic circles.

Running the System

The system of higher education

in occupied Palestine needs an effective mechanism, to deal with the bureaucracy of running an educational system, monitor academic excellence, and confront its seemingly endless problems.

At present, there is The Council for Higher Education established in 1977. Permanent delegates from the universities meet and work together with representatives from different public institutions, including the mayors of the university towns. But this Council has proved efficient only in financial matters—it dispenses funds allocated by the Federation of Arab Universities.

While the financial role and performance of the Council are to be applauded, the Council fails when it comes to academic issues, such as assessing the feasibility of new programs, maintaining the criteria of academic quality, and administering the system of accreditation as it relates to the society of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But the Council in spite of its efforts is caught, like other institutions, in the midst of a political situation which renders it ineffective and powerless. All too often certain actions it decides to take are blocked by the Israeli occupation authorities.

This does not, however, negate the urgent necessity of transforming the Council into a more efficient and effective one. It must be capable of charting the future path of the system of higher education in occupied Palestine.

With the absence of a national governmental administrative structure to cope with society's needs and problems, the universities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have the added responsibility of actually caring for the society as a whole. It is the universities which must suggest remedies for a wide range of problems from pre-school education to social services, and from agricultural concerns to those of industry and development. The American model of liberal arts education can offer the Palestinians the analytical and critical approach but, the Palestinians need to mold this model to suit their special circumstances.

When applicable, courses that copy what is being taught in American colleges could be reworked to allow for more local input. Universities could combine universal theoretical knowledge with the specifics of Palestinian society. Academic departments, such as Political Science, Social Science, Literature, Physics, or Chemistry, that prepare students to pursue academic careers, should be carefully evaluated and overhauled to facilitate employment in occupied Palestine.

Many of our graduates do not have the opportunity to pursue a post-graduate career. Preparing them for such a career, as the current educational programs seem to be doing, wastes both financial and human resources.

This is not to suggest that Palestinian higher education should break with the universal principles and criteria of higher education, rather, the argument is for a more practical system keeping academic quality, but also serving the short- and long-term needs of the society. Some of the programs offered in Palestinian universities already do just that.

Bethlehem University has a Nursing School that is both academically superb and socially relevant. The same can be said about its program of Business Administration and Hotel Management. Bir Zeit University has a literacy program and a center for community health. Al-Najah University of Nablus has a center for rural development. The Hebron Polytechnic Institute as well as Abu Deis College of Science, near Jerusalem, offers specialized courses in computers and technical fields.

While this indicates a pragmatic and practical tendency, most students still specialize in areas that are strictly academic. The result is that increasing numbers of them are unemployable. This only adds to the problem of unemployment resulting from the politics of occupation which have prevented domestic Palestinian economic development. Occupied Palestine's economic dependence on Israel means that there is no infrastructure of business, industry, or governmental administration to hire college graduates.

The Israeli occupation authorities have also obstructed efforts by at least two universities, Hebron and Bethlehem, to start agricultural education programs. It seems that the Israelis prefer that most programs in the Palestinian universities continue to concentrate on such subjects as religion, languages, social sciences, and the humanities. Since these are mostly nontechnical and of a general nature, they pose no serious threat to Israel's dominance and control.

Conclusion

Palestinian universities reflect the will of the Palestinian people to educate themselves and to prepare the way for a better future. Yet, like other important social and educational institutions, they are currently paralyzed by Israeli closure orders. One's vision of the future for these universities depends on a political settlement between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

While it is imperative that the Israeli occupation authorities open the universities and free the political prisoners, many of whom are college students and faculty members, it is the Palestinians themselves that have to determine the philosophy of higher education and its objectives. Even in education, there must be self-determination. With a just and comprehensive peace, these universities can become the building blocks for a society that sees education not simply as a process of self- or national preservation but also as means of opening and reconstructing a vision of a future, heretofore undreamt of in this troubled land. □

America's Broken Promises

When Will the United States Deliver on its Commitments?

Mohamed Hakki

The Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. carries a large sign on one of its outside walls that reads—"Never fence past." It is a student artwork in the making—so far it does not say what it is that one should "never fence past"—or what it is that "never fence past" actually means.

Nonetheless, these words started me thinking. Such a sign would probably be very appropriate hanging down the street at the White House, or five blocks in the other direction toward Foggy Bottom, to be hung over the State Department. I say this especially when it comes to the Palestine question.

Administrations may get rid of their Arab area specialists, their "Arabists," or they may disgust those who have a more balanced view to the point of leaving *en masse*. But if an administration tells us that it intends to deal with Palestinians on the basis of fairness and justice, then they cannot and should not "fence past."

Our problem, as Arabs, in dealing with Washington, has been in having to educate the new president every four years about our case.

Luckily, we do not have to do this this time. We may have a problem with his staff, members of which may not be knowledgeable about us or may be more attuned to Israel's views, but certainly President George Bush knows the area, the people, the players, and a good many of the nuances of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

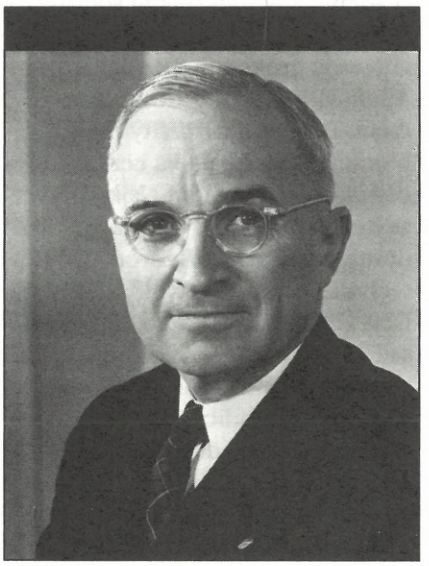
Our problem with Washington is not one of missed opportunities. It is more a problem of a series of broken promises.

Simply put, our problem with Washington is not one of missed opportunities. It is more a problem of a series of broken promises. From the time of the U.N. Partition Plan of 1947, to U.N. Resolution 242 of 1967, the Rogers' Plan of 1969, the Geneva Conference of 1973, the Ford-Kissinger Reassessment of 1975, the Joint Soviet-American Statement of 1977, the Camp David accords of 1978, and the Reagan Plan of 1982—every U.S. plan promised to deal with the Arab-Israeli problem fairly and evenhandedly.

The message all along was, if only the Arabs—and more recently the Palestinians as represented by the PLO—would recognize Israel and were prepared to sit down and talk face to face to Israel, then the United States would see to it that Israel would honor its side of the bargain, namely "territory for peace."

At this juncture, when the United States is finally engaged in a dialogue with the PLO, and when Israeli Labor leader Shimon Peres is characterizing this dialogue as "indirect negotiations [via] the U.S.," it may be useful to look across the "fenced past" and resurrect some of its documents—two of which are very relevant to our present-day search for peace.

Leafing through the April 1948



U.S. Army/courtesy of Harry S. Truman Library

Harry S. Truman was the U.S. president to recognize the State of Israel.

Mohamed Hakki is the former head of Egypt's information agency. He currently serves on the editorial board of The Return.

copy of the *Readers Digest*, I found an article by Bayard Dodge, then-president of the American University of Beirut. Dodge is described as a "distingushed friend of the Arabs and Jews" who studied Oriental religion and civilization at Union Theological Seminary, New York, under the great Hebrew Scholar, Dr. Reichard Gotheil.

According to the article—

> The Arabs feel justified in rejecting the General Assembly's partition recommendation since under the U.N. Charter it is *merely* a recommendation, reached after great unfairness. . . .
>
> In the U.N. General Assembly the Arabs proposed that this question be submitted to the U.N. International Court of Justice for impartial judicial determination. A General Assembly committee voted that proposal down. The Arabs now say with mounting bitterness: "The General Assembly declined to consult international law before it took international political action against us."
>
> They also say that the political action taken was political to an almost unprecedented extreme. Virtually every American Foreign Service specialist or Army intelligence officer ever stationed in the Middle East, they note, was opposed to partition. Partition was supported, nevertheless, they note, by top presidential political appointees and became the policy of the U.S. Government. That policy, the Arabs conclude, was dictated not by the advice of American experts in the field but by the desire of American politicians to attract Zionist votes—Jewish or Gentile—at home.

This was true then, and it remains true now.

Now we come to U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which despite its astigmatic view of the Palestinians, remains the cornerstone of all past and present negotiations with the Arabs. The resolution, like any other, does not come from a vacuum. It is namely the result of long and arduous give and take.

Now that the PLO has fulfilled all that is required of it by the United States, I hope that we have reached the end of the line. Now, we are waiting for the United States to deliver.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in the 1960s.

On November 7, 1967, U.S. representative Ambassador Arthur Goldberg discussed with Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad the rough first draft of what later became Resolution 242. Minister Riad noticed in that draft the absence of the article "the" before the word "territories" from which Israel was called upon to withdraw.

Later in the day, Riad met King Hussein of Jordan (who had just returned from a meeting with U.S. President Lyndon Johnson in Washington) and informed him of his misgivings about the proposed text. After King Hussein contacted Washington, U.S. Ambassador Goldberg met Egyptian Minister Riad again. He told him that they both knew that the Sinai was part of Egypt, that the Golan was part of Syria, and that the West Bank was part of Jordan.

The Egyptian foreign minister was not satisfied with this geographical statement. The U.S. delegation, therefore, came up with the paragraph emphasizing the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by war, which was later to form the first part of article two in the preamble.

The article "the" before the word territories was only absent from the English text, not because the United States was against Israel's total withdrawal from all the territories, as Justice Goldberg later claimed, but to alleviate human "injustices" and "inconsistencies" on the previous cease-fire lines, according to Lord Caradon,

"Father" of the resolution. I have heard him explain it many times.

The cease-fire lines were based on the accident of where exactly the Israeli and the Arab armies happened to be on that particular night. For instance, he said, the Arab Legion was across the road at Latrun on the road from Jaffa and Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Consequently, for the following 20 years an awkward detour had to be made in the road to Jerusalem.

He also mentioned the case of two neighboring villages, Taybeh and Qalqilyah, which were both on the same side of the road but on different sides of the cease-fire line. He was concerned that the Jewish quarter of the Old City was on the Arab side of the line and the Israelis were denied access to Mount Scopes and the Hebrew University. Lord Caradon's idea was to set up a boundary commission and hear both sides and then decide the permanent "secure and recognized" boundaries.

In fact, Egyptian Foreign Minister Riad told me at that time that when he asked U.S. Ambassador Goldberg why we should accept Resolution 242 when we had just turned down the Latin American resolution the previous summer, Goldberg said, "By God, this is the resolution behind which the United States is going to put its weight and see to it that Israel respects its side of the bargain."

The rest, as they say, is history. Nevertheless, no one can take away the principle of inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war from Resolution 242.

I understand that Abba Eban, who shared in the wording of Resolution 242, has also since added his interpretation to the resolution and it is identical to the Arab interpretation.

Now that the PLO has fulfilled all that is required of it by the United States, I hope that we have reached the end of the line. Now, we are waiting for the United States to deliver. □

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In Brief

Italian Senate: Italy Should Recognize State of Palestine

In late March, 197 members, or 61 percent, of the Italian senate, asked the Italian government to officially recognize the State of Palestine. In a statement released on March 31 by a joint committee of the major Italian political parties, the senate members also urged other European countries to follow suit.

Israel Back in Ethiopia?

After a four-year break with Ethiopia following *Operation Moses* (the airlift of Ethiopian Jews to Israel), Israel is reportedly supplying military aid to the government in its fight against Eritrean and Tigrean insurgents. By doing so, Israel hopes to reestablish its longstanding strategic alliance with Addis Ababa. In addition, Ethiopian Jews in Israel are hoping that the improved ties will persuade Ethiopia to allow family members left behind in *Operation Moses* to join them. As the Soviet Union cuts back on aid, Ethiopia is believed to be quietly upgrading its relations with Israel in hopes of pleasing Washington.

Israel's Role in Iran-contra Affair May Be Bigger Than Previously Believed

Israel's support of the Nicaraguan contras was far greater than previously reported, according to the *Sunday Telegraph* of London. The paper quoted a Reagan administration source which said that there are hundreds of documents detailing Israel's activities in support of the contras. Much of this activity came after Congress barred the Reagan administration from continuing the war against the Nicaraguan government. However, these papers are so "sensitive," the paper reported, they were never declassified or shown to the congressional committees investigating the Iran-contra affair.

Israeli Advisor in Ecuador Serves as Professional Assassin

Ecuador's former President Leon Febres Cordero hired an Israeli advisor to mastermind the killing of the top leaders of a small insurgent group called Alfaro Vive Carajo (AVC, or "Alfaro Lives, Damn it!"). The new government has condemned the practice of hiring Israeli "advisors" and has integrated AVC into the country's political process. Ran Gazit, the advisor, is now working in Peru.

11,500 Palestinians Detained in Ansar-III So Far

According to the Israeli daily *Hadashot*, 11,500 Palestinians have been been detained in Ansar-III (Ketziot) detention camp in the Negev Desert. Currently, Ansar-III is holding about 3,000 detainees within its confines.

Networks Training Palestinians to Film News Items?

According to Israeli press reports, American television networks are training Palestinians to film events in occupied Palestine, in light of the present Israeli restrictions on the work of foreign reporters and television crews. Minicams have been distributed to some residents, and NBC is training a Palestinian to be a cameraman. A video camera was reportedly taken into Al-Aqsa Mosque during recent turmoil.

Groundbreaking for New Israeli Settlement

Around 200 Israelis took part on April 23 in a groundbreaking ceremony to found the Israeli settlement of Talmon, near Ramallah. Among those present, according to the Israeli daily *Davar* was Likud Knesset Member Benny Begin, son of former prime minister Menachem Begin. Initially, 15 Jewish families will settle in Talmon.

Israel's Population to Reach Seven Million by 2010

The Israeli government estimates that Israel's population will reach about seven million by the year 2010. This estimate includes two million Palestinians and 225,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank.

Israel Unveils New Tank

The Israeli army unveiled a new, advanced tank on Israel's Independence Day, May 10. The new tank is called "Merkava-III."

Ramallah Boy Forced to Ride on Hood of Israeli Army Jeep

On May 2, a nine-year-old boy, Ribhi Wasef Abdel Salam, was beaten and forced to ride on top of the hood of an Israeli army jeep as it passed through the streets of Ramallah and Al-Bireh. Apparently, the soldiers were trying to deter stone-throwers from pelting the jeep as they drove through the neighboring towns.

34 Palestinians Killed in April

Thirty-four Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers in April according to the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Territories. Thirty-three people were shot and one was beaten to death. This is the second highest monthly total since the beginning of the *Intifadah*. An army spokesman disputed the figure, saying that only 28 Palestinians were killed.

23,400 Palestinian Trees Destroyed in First Year of *Intifadah*

During the first 12 months of the *Intifadah*, at least 23,400 trees were uprooted or chopped down—most of them in the West Bank, according to the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*. The Israeli army normally bulldozes fruit trees on land from which stones allegedly have been thrown at Israeli patrols or Israeli settler cars.

New Israeli Group: "Jordan is Palestine"

A new Israeli group, "Jordan Is Palestine," was founded in early April by Aryeh Hess and Eliazer Cohen. The society's goal is the overthrow of the Jordanian monarchy and the establishment of a Palestinian regime in its place, which would be more accommodating to Israel. Sovereignty of the West Bank's populous Palestinian cities would be transferred to the new state, and Israel would agree to minor territorial adjustments.

"Peace Plan" to Divide Palestine and Israel into Cantons

An Israeli settlement leader in the West Bank has come up with a "peace plan" by which *Eretz Israel* (the "Land of Israel") will be divided up into Arab and Jewish cantons. Yisrael Har'el told a Washington think-tank in early April that all land west of the Jordan River should be fashioned into 15 Swiss-style cantons—11 Jewish and four Arab, with a 120-member federal assembly modeled after the U.S. Congress. Such a scheme, Har'el argued, would permanently guarantee a Jewish majority in the state's legislature.

Most Israelis for Suppressing *Intifadah*

According to a Bouri Institute poll, 53 percent of Israelis back the use of "intensive military force" to suppress the *Intifadah*.

Israeli Government Officially Registers Baby Named "Intifadah"

The registration procedure was completed and a 3,000-shekel child allowance was paid to the parents of Intifadah, a baby girl born to an Israeli-Arab woman in Haifa. At first, officials at Rothschild Hospital balked at the idea of registering Intifadah. They referred the matter to the "proper authorities."

Compiled by Emile Siman

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Made in Palestine

Izhar Be'er

The Intifadah *is more than riots, flying stones, and burning tires. It is also a war against Israel's economy—a war banning a wide range of consumer goods, from cigarettes to shoes, made in Israel.*

Leaflet No. 36, issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, targeted the end of March as the date for the removal of all Israeli products from Palestinian stores. During the first days of the *Intifadah*, the Palestinian boycott of Israeli goods seemed feeble because of the lack of Palestinian economic independence. But today, the boycott is practically universal.

The abolishment of Israeli-manufactured cigarettes, dairy products, and other basic goods which had brought hundreds of millions of dollars into Israel during the 21 years of occupation, has created a vacuum which is being filled rapidly by new local manufacturers investing their own capital and that of wealthy Palestinians living abroad.

These Palestinian companies operate independently of Israeli companies and they steer clear of doing business in Israel or with other Israeli companies. Textile manufacturers, for example, have almost ceased subcontracting from Israeli companies.

Izhar Be'er is an Israeli journalist who writes for Kol Ha'ir.

Quietly, and with almost no public documentation, a self-sustaining economy is evolving which, in days to come, will prove to be the economic base of the independent Palestinian state.

Palestinian firms which produce soft drinks, matches, cigarettes, food, and other basic goods target their sales for the local market instead of the Israeli market. The Israeli firms most affected, are those which had marketed basic products —such as soft drinks, textiles, detergents, and cigarettes—in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip.

Individual households also participate in producing such items as clothes, shoes, basic food products (garden vegetables and fruits), and practically any other necessities for day-to-day life. Thus, in an irreversible process, the economy of the West Bank is being substantially restructured.

Quietly, and with almost no public documentation, a self-sustaining economy is evolving which, in days to come, will prove to be the economic base of the independent Palestinian state.

Cigarettes: Boycott *Time*, Buy *Good Luck*

Parked beside the entrance to the cigarette factory in the village of Al-Azaria (Bethany) are a costly Volvo and a fancy 1988 Chevrolet. These vehicles are used by the firm's executives, Mohammad Alami and Majed Shahawan, his deputy. Their offices are equally impressive. They are located across a courtyard, the back of which is controlled by fierce looking dogs. Upon entering their office building, visitors find themselves in an elaborate lobby, equipped with the latest communications devices, and furnished in the comfortable style of television's *Dynasty*.

The Palestinian cigarette factory was founded by the renowned Alami family, a member of which is the Mufti of East Jerusalem. Mohammad Alami, a chemical engineer, was educated in England and later managed oil businesses in the Arab Gulf. For the last eight years he has been the managing executive of the factory in Al-Azaria.

Alami belongs to a new generation of Palestinian business professionals which occupies the executive armchairs of the new firms in the West Bank. He was educated in the West, is very direct, energetic, efficient, and familiar with the latest technological

advances in his field. And like many other executives in the West Bank, Alami pursues a modern and aggressive sales strategy, as opposed to the traditional, small household sales practices.

In his office, in front of a closed-circuit television, Alami examines a chart showing the rise in sales since the *Intifadah* began. During the first months of the Uprising, when Palestinians gradually stopped buying *Blue White* cigarettes, manufactured by the *Dubek* company of Israel, Alami's sales increased by 15 percent.

Eight months ago, the Al-Azaria factory began producing *Capitol* cigarettes, mainly for export. Now, *Capitol* has won a slice of the market in Scotland, probably due to its competitive price—U.S. $2.25. And of course, it has won a slice of the West Bank market.

The Al-Azaria factory purchases tobacco from firms in Zimbabwe, Malawi, the United States, and occasionally from Italy and Germany. Only 10 percent of the firm's tobacco is purchased from the local market. (Tobacco is grown near Jenin and other areas of the West Bank). The cigarette filters are imported from Spain, and the paper from Germany and France. The factory does not benefit from foreign investments in the usual sense, and most profits are reinvested in the factory.

In September, the Al-Azaria firm introduced a new cigarette to the local market intending to challenge the popularity of the Israeli cigarette, *Time*. *Good Luck* now accounts for 10 percent of the factory's sales. And in the West Bank, the purchase of *Time* has practically stopped.

The two new cigarette brands, *Capitol* and *Good Luck*, with their modern and marketable packets, resemble choice imported cigarettes. They join the veteran brands of *Alia*, *Imperial*, *Kafri*, and *Farid*, made in the factory since 1967.

Not only are the price and packaging decisive factors in what is commercially successful today,

photo courtesy of Izhar Be'er

Raising sheep in Hebron to meet local demands for milk and meat.

but proper product development, quality, and advertising also play a role. "We try to be sophisticated, at least as sophisticated as the Israelis, who are trying to push their products through the back door," says Alami. "To plan a new cigarette brand takes years. One has to put work into each ingredient: the tobacco, the filter, the package. It is not simple." In addition says Alami, "We receive no support from the PLO, Jordan, Israel, or anyone else, so in order to exist we must be more clever and efficient than our competitors."

This does not mean that his cigarettes lack nationalistic appeal. *Capitol*'s packet cover design, on cigarettes intended for export, depicts a snowy landscape which drives home a feeling of health, but which does not reflect the local terrain. On cigarette packets intended for the local market, the snow is replaced by something more nationalistic: a view of the Dome of the Rock.

"But," says Alami, "being nationalistic is not enough. You also have to make the right cigarette."

Still, the advantages held by those who produce a national Palestinian cigarette are countered by economic conditions, over which the Palestinians have no control. Thus, for example, the large tax reduction on imported cigarettes, initiated by Israeli Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon in the framework of his battle against the monopoly of the Israeli cigarette firm *Dubek*, reduced the price of cigarette imports to such an extent, that many Palestinian smokers began to buy them. Nationalistic smokers, who had given up the Israeli product, had first given the Palestinian-made cigarettes a try. But those who did not adjust to the new variety of flavors, eventually found themselves preferring the imports.

Today, Alami's factory in Al-Azaria produces 3.75 million packets a month—*Dubek* manufactures 25 million packets a month. Generally, Alami's brands dominate the West Bank market. Of those who smoke, 60 percent smoke the Palestinian-made cigarettes. The cigarette preferred by most smokers is *Imperial*. Another 15 percent still smoke *Dubek*'s brands. All the rest, 25 percent, shifted to imports.

The cigarette factory in Al-Azaria is flourishing. A new machine will arrive soon—the most advanced cigarette producing machine in the world today. It was bought in England for $1.25 million dollars. The workers' wages here are among the highest in the West Bank, and the owner still has enough left to contribute to charities. The firm helps underprivileged families, and

recently equipped a whole department in the Mount of Olives Maqassed Hospital with modern and costly instruments.

Club Cola: Aggressive Advertising

Ramallah's industrial zone is also flourishing as a result of the break-away from the Israeli economy, and as a result of hopes for the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. Industries producing diapers, detergents, and soft drinks have experienced a sharp rise in sales, and new and modern factories are popping up. One of these is a new soft drink plant, which entered the production stage recently.

A visitor to the factory grounds is left with the impression that a new economic system is indeed arising in the West Bank. The face of the huge building housing the production hall and offices, is marble-plated and adorned with modular signs welcoming the visitor in Arabic and English. The place has an air of European efficiency. In front are parked new and shiny trucks ready to take the crates of bottled soft drinks to the markets.

The idea of erecting a modern soft drink factory in the West Bank was adopted years ago by Daniel Isah, a Palestinian businessman living in England since 1968. The substantial capital accumulated in his business made it possible for Isah to return to his country of birth as an entrepreneur.

Isah made a market survey and found that the local market was thirsty for another soft drink to compete with the veteran RC plant situated nearby. The investors were Isah and members of his family, who own a large cement batching plant in Al-Bireh. Though he made his plans long before the *Intifadah* broke out, Isah completed his plant only in June 1988. Regular production commenced three months ago. Today, Isah's soft drinks come in a variety of cola, orange, and lemon-lime flavors. They are manufactured under the company name, *Club-Cola*.

Isah, like Alami, represents a new type of manager. His education and sophisticated business outlook have led him to adopt an aggressive advertising scheme. *Club-Cola* advertises in the streets, Palestinian newspapers printed in East Jerusalem, and even by means of stickers, used in grocery stores and on street merchant carts. A can of *Club-Cola* costs only half a shekel. A pack of 24 cans is sold for 10.50 shekels. Nowadays, it is difficult to find Israeli-made soft drinks even in East Jerusalem. *Club-Cola* has also managed to muscle in on RC's sales.

In the meantime, the firm is not distributing its products in Israel. It is not yet able to produce enough *Club-Cola* for export—or even for sale in the Gaza Strip.

Club Cola: Made in Palestine. courtesy of Izhar Be'er

Although West Bankers have ceased almost completely to buy the Israeli make, other difficulties overshadow the successes of these new firms. The repeated curfews in the area hinder night shifts, and many of the 50 employees find it difficult to get to work. Daniel Isah does not even know yet if the factory he established is profitable. He only knows that the current difficulties result from Palestinian financial hardship. Sales are 30-40 percent lower than anticipated.

But Isah hopes things will improve with the establishment of the Palestinian state. "People will have more money. Then it will better for all of us." For that day he is already prepared.

The Juneidi Dairy

A few months ago, Israeli newspapers reported that Palestinians in the West Bank were trying to establish an independent dairy industry, and that month by month hundreds of cows were being bought from Israeli-owned cowsheds. The director of the Israeli milk marketing board had even warned Israeli livestock owners not to "collaborate" with the Palestinian dairy farmers. They especially warned about the selling of cows before their first delivery. The Israeli milk marketing board had also addressed the offices of agriculture, treasury, and trade, and demanded that the price of meat be raised by 15 percent, thus encouraging the cowshed owners to slaughter their livestock rather than sell to the West Bank dairy farmers.

Hashem No'aman Juneidi, an owner of a dairy doing business under his name in Hebron, rejects the basis of the hysteria that struck the Israeli dairy marketers. True,

The boycott of Israeli products has brought about a dramatic increase in the demand for Juneidi dairy products, an increase great enough to counter the growing economic hardship and the weakening of the Jordanian Dinar.

Sales of Israeli-Manufactured Goods Are Down

Israeli market specialists have conducted a study that indicates the volume of Israeli companies' sales in Israel and occupied Palestine has fallen by 10-15 percent since the beginning of the *Intifadah*. Some industries, like Palestinian textile industries, have almost ceased to accept subcontracts from their larger Israeli counterparts. Israeli attempts to push Israeli made products by enhanced advertising, sophisticated marketing, or by disguising them as imported products, have generally failed. The *Intifadah* leaders and competing manufacturers in the West Bank are quick to expose any Israeli product.

Bread: Danny Angel of *Angel's Bakery* argues that Palestinians have almost entirely stopped buying the bakery's products. Formerly, the bakery supplied about 6,000 loaves of bread daily to West Bankers. Hundreds of small pita bread bakeries fill the gap to cater to the population's needs.

Cigarettes: *Dubek* had always considered the Palestinians an important segment of their market. The Palestinians were an important source of the company's revenues. The effect of the *Intifadah* on *Dubek* is said to be a reduction of 17 percent in gross sales.

Also in *Dubek*, management and workers are enraged by the regulations compelling the firm to buy all of Israel's tobacco harvest before buying imports. Palestinian tobacco firms do not have to follow these regulations. The current Israeli tobacco stock will last for the next five years.

Milk: Avshalom Dolev, director of the milk marketing board, says that West Bank Palestinians previously accounted for 6 percent of Israel's milk consumption. Since the start of the Uprising, the Palestinian portion of the market has dropped by 2 percent, or 20 million liters of milk annually. Most of the milk products Palestinians bought in the past were end-of-the-line products, such as cheeses and preserved milk. The manufacture of such products today is therefore not profitable for Israeli dairies.

Chocolate: Abraham Hasson, director of the Arab Market Section of the *Elite* chocolate company, which sells chocolate in the West Bank as well as Israel, contends that his firm's drop in sales, is limited to 3 percent. Efforts to market *Elite* products under import packaging in the West Bank have failed, since they were promptly revealed. Hasson explains the relatively moderate decrease in sales by noting the increase of sales to the Arab population living in Israel.

cows are purchased, but the Palestinians in the West Bank are far from being able to provide enough dairy products to meet their own needs.

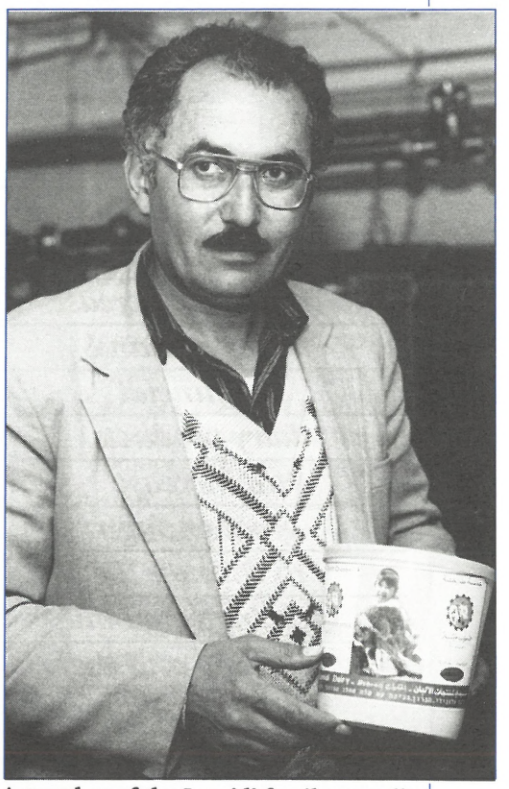
The *Juneidi Dairy* is the largest in the West Bank. The Juneidi family, one of the oldest families in Mount Hebron (they have lived in the area for around 1,000 years), has been selling homemade milk products in its family store. During the 1970s, when it became clear that non-pasteurized milk products carry dangerous diseases, the Juneidis decided to establish an orderly milk processing plant. The plant was erected in 1982 with an investment of 300,000 Jordanian Dinars—not borrowed money, but the family's own private capital.

The dairy currently processes 10,000 liters of milk daily, to produce cheeses, yogurt, and *labaneh* (strained yogurt, similar in consistency to cream cheese). Although the plant had been operating before the beginning of the *Intifadah*, the Uprising has given the Juneidi Dairy substantial encouragement. The boycott of Israeli products has brought about a dramatic increase in the demand for Juneidi dairy products—an increase great enough to counter the growing economic hardship and the weakening of the Jordanian Dinar.

It may be that the economic methods practiced in the West Bank—exclusively private capital investment, and the involvement of family members in management—bring about greater efficiency in the manufacturing process, which of course, drives down end product prices. As a matter of fact, in Hebron, Juneidi Dairy products are cheaper than similar Israeli *Tnuva* products by 15 percent.

Hashem Juneidi, who manages the family's dairy out of a narrow chamber situated between the milk tanks of the present factory, admits that the livestock in the West Bank is currently unable to provide all of the milk consumed by the local market. About 30-40 percent of the milk he buys and processes in his dairy is bought from *Tnuva*. In addition to milk, the dairy purchases large amounts of powdered milk from *Tnuva*. There is no substitute for the Israeli supply of milk or the ties with the Israeli economy.

Like Alami and Isah, Hashem Juneidi is out to meet the needs of his people. He is helping to ween them from dependency on the Israeli economy.



A member of the Juneidi family proudly displays his family's cheese produced locally in Hebron, West Bank.

In general, West Bank cattle holders consist of small dairy households—two to three cows, or five to six sheep or goats. Many families in Mount Hebron, including the urban ones, will clear a room or two on the ground floor of their houses for sheep or goats, as an additional source of income.

The livestock in these home dairies is milked twice a day. The amounts involved are too small for a milk tanker to be sent to collect the milk, as is common in Israel, so the locals cart their milk in smaller vessels to the Juneidi Dairy themselves.

The final products produced in the Juneidi Dairy, however, are distributed throughout the West Bank by five new trucks. And the dairy is able to meet a large portion of the West Bank's dairy needs. The demand in Gaza, however, cannot be met, so the Gazans usually shop for milk products at a similar dairy in Jericho.

The Juneidi brothers are building a new modern dairy nearby, which will process 50,000 liters of milk every day, and will provide enough milk to supply the entire West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The huge concrete skeleton of the new dairy already stands three floors high. It is impressive in dimension and design. The vast refrigeration rooms are now completed, and the dairy is to be fully automated. Among the most modern of milk processing instruments have already been installed.

Like Alami and Isah, Hashem Juneidi is out to meet the needs of his people. He is helping to ween them from dependency on the Israeli economy. And like the other two factory owners, he denies that the considerable growth of his factory has been directed by somebody from the PLO to prepare for the state which is on the way. "No," he says, "it is nothing but a family matter." □

ARAB AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Thoughts of an Arab-American Mother

Noha Ismail

When my husband and I decided to immigrate 19 years ago, we had been married four years. We had two small children, and we both had lived in the United States as graduate students. We were bilingual and familiar with American customs and traditions. We chose to immigrate to this country though we knew that life in the United States is different than what we were used to.

We were the product of political and economic upheaval in our Arab homeland in the 1950s and 1960s. We were proud of our Arab identity, as our pride was nourished by decades of struggle for political independence. To a large degree, we represented the new wave of Arab immigrants to the United States—young, educated, politically conscious, urban, ambitious, and capable of getting top-notch jobs anywhere in the Middle East. But we chose to immigrate to the United States for the professional challenge and out of a desire for social change.

This, of course, contrasted sharply with the case of the early Arab immigrants who began arriving in New York at the turn of the century. They were uneducated and unskilled. They immigrated to the United States in order to flee religious persecution at home and to escape from Ottoman rule. They did not know the language nor were they prepared for the hardships that lay ahead.

In this respect, their experience was not unlike the rest of the immigrants who filed through Ellis Island during that time. And for most immigrants of that era the struggle for assimilation was an arduous process. The early Arab immigrants simply wanted to put their noses to the grindstone and work hard and make a life for themselves in this country.

Americans in those days also held a generally intolerant attitude toward ethnic and racial minorities. For this reason, the early immigrants used to be ashamed to speak Arabic in public for fear of being thought of us "spies" or "dirty Turks." Like the rest of the ethnic minorities, they were eager to acquire a new identity and sever their ties with the past.

But the "New World" was a different place by the time we arrived. The once-accepted view of Americanization that required the melting of different racial and cultural characteristics into one homogeneous entity—the "melting pot"—was giving way to a more natural, more vital concept. The new attitude considered the racial differences desirable and worthy of incorporating into the living body of the American nation.

To a large extent, the African-American civil rights movement was responsible for making Americans more tolerant of racial diversity. It was the same movement that later transformed diversity into a cause for celebration. Thus, today we talk of Jesse Jackson's *Rainbow* Coalition, and the celebrated *ethnic* quilt.

That was the America of the past 20 years, and it suited us fine. We, like other immigrants, had no compelling desire to melt into the melting pot. Quite the contrary, we coined the term "Arab American" to distinguish us from other Americans. And very soon that well-developed sense of ethnic pride that we brought along with us shone brighter than ever.

The early immigrants were forced by circumstances to identify themselves as Arab Americans as well. That had become the designation the American media applied to all Arab immigrants and their descendents.

No longer were Arab immigrants and their descendents forced to choose between being Americans or Arabs, Christians or Muslims. Gradually they began to develop a heightened ethnic consciousness and a stronger sense of connection to the lands of their ancestors.

It was a sort of "Arab Renaissance." It was a re-awakening of the community's willingness to assert itself socially, culturally, and politically. But we carried it several steps further. We were determined to raise our children no differently from the way we were raised, as Muslim Arabs, or Christian Arabs, but as *Arabs* nevertheless. We had no intention of severing our ties with the past.

And even if we were inclined to forget our past, American society would not let us. The United States

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Noha Ismail is a member of the board of directors of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). This article is based on a speech she gave at the ADC annual convention.

may have been more receptive to cultural pluralism, but the 1967 War, the October War of 1973, and the Arab oil embargo encouraged Israel and its supporters to launch a relentless campaign to defame the Arab character and discredit Arab causes.

The result has been a constant bombardment via the media of a two-pronged negative image of the Arab: the slimy, ugly, greedy, oversexed sheikh; and the sadistic, bloodthirsty terrorist.

These stereotypes, as absurd as they are, were extremely offensive and affected us deeply and personally, particularly because our children were exposed to them. There was no way to insulate them from this rampant anti-Arabism. The ugly stereotypes cropped up in comic books, advertising, prime-time television, popular fiction, and even textbooks. It was all very dehumanizing. We may have come to this country with a very positive self-image, but these negative stereotypes were robbing our children of positive role models. We became very indignant when we realized that the accumulated defamation was beginning to affect their self-esteem.

So instinctively, we formed a sort of enclave and became overly protective of our children. In our effort to fight back, it was hard to resist the tendency to reconstitute our old social system, with its networks, segments, styles, manners, and customs. We sought each other out in an effort to replace the extended family, which we felt we needed for common security. And that is when we began to think of developing institutions and organizations to defend our rights, and preserve our culture and our faiths.

Now that our children are coming of age, some of us are beginning to feel the stresses of the constant tug of war between American popular culture and our native Arabic culture, and we question its validity. We live in a pluralistic society, yet we demand from our children that they adhere to a singular identity—one that is very clearly defined for us, but not for them. We want our children to be no different from their cousins back home, yet we also expect them to be fully assimilated and firmly grounded in the mainstream of American life.

Is that a realistic expectation? Or are we complicating their lives by insisting that they carry their foreignness around with them like excess baggage for the rest of their lives? For even if we do feel like transients in this society, and are bent on returning home at some point, they are bound to feel foreign there too. As a Palestinian-American parent I sometimes have doubts and worry about whether what I am doing is the right thing.

Has the pendulum swung too far to the right? Are we too obsessed with the fear of losing touch with the "home country"? We live here but our hearts belong back there. It is one thing to be intensely proud of our heritage and be determined to preserve and defend it, but are we helping or hurting our children when we insist that they develop a dual identity, a dual loyalty.

Yes, we have achieved what we set out to achieve professionally. We are respected doctors, college professors, engineers, and business people. We are also eager to have our children compete and find their places in the American world of business, yet we impose upon them many social limitations. We spare nothing to provide them with the advantages of higher education, and we encourage them to compete and set high goals for themselves in their chosen careers.

But we make a distinct separation between their professional and personal lives. On the professional level, we provide them with a powerful set of wings and order them to fly, and on the personal level, we clip their wings and are very reluctant to let them go. Of course, these inconsistencies result in many pressure points within the Arab-American family. No matter how you look at it, it is still a problem when parents aspire to plant their feet firmly in a Western society, yet remain just as firmly transfixed in the East, thousands of miles away.

Our children's individuality and their natural desire to conform socially was bound to conflict with our attempts to retain control. We are not immune to the problems of the generation gap, but between the Arab-American parent and child, we have to contend with the added strain of culture gap.

Yes, the journey has had its share of hardships. I have always maintained that the only thing that is harder than being the parent of an adolescent, is being the parent of an Arab-American adolescent, because the responsibilities that we impose upon our children and ourselves are so great.

Still there are advantages. Our children may have a harder time growing up, but they tend to be more focused, more likely to succeed, and more politically and culturally sophisticated than the average American child. Our children seem to be more sensitive to the complexities of the world in which we live.

The enhancement of family honor and status is still our overriding concern. It is our *raison d'être* as parents. This sense of obligation comes not only from our desire for a better life, but from our cultural heritage. It is the keystone of our Arab identity.

For me, it is very hard to let go of these values. They serve me and my family well, in spite of all the problems discussed above. The hope for the future, is to continue to maintain our group identity in significant ways. But we should also try to be more accepting of the society in which we live. We should work toward achieving an equilibrium between group identity and integration in the larger American community.

I think that there is a need for us to adjust our goals a little bit, just so they are more realistic. I will always be a proud Arab. My hope is for my sons to be proud Arab Americans. □

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Israel's Arms Industry is Thriving—But for How Long?

Jane Hunter

The economic rationale for Israel's arms industry always has been questionable, and its demise predicted for almost a decade. The industry has never fulfilled the purpose for which it was established after the 1967 War—making Israel self-sufficient in weapons and thus immune to outside political pressure. However, by lurching from one survival tack to another, Israel's arms industry has achieved its secondary purpose: it survives by selling weapons abroad.

Israel's weapons export business is currently booming. But since so many Third World economies are suffering from seemingly unending economic crises, and because Third World countries traditionally make up a good part of the Israeli arms market, no one can say exactly why. Several executives of the companies that comprise Israel's largely state-owned arms industry attribute their growing backlog of orders to coincidence, a "bunching together of big contracts."

The identities of Israel's arms customers are almost always tightly guarded secrets. Sometimes the secrecy is to protect Israel, as the clients are likely to be repressive right-wing dictatorships. In other instances, the secrecy is at the request of the client, which fears embarrassment if the source of its weapons were to become known.

According to recent Israeli press reports, the latest batch of big orders includes the sale of $500 million worth of *Barak* ship-to-ship missiles to a number of countries and one $500 million order for airborne systems from "a certain Latin American country." These orders have been placed with *Israel Aircraft Industries* (IAI), the state-owned flagship of Israel's arms industry and the country's largest company. IAI is also known to have sold 13 reconditioned *Kfir* aircraft, worth $200 million to Colombia.

Today, 70 percent of Israel's arms production goes abroad.

Last fall, *Tadiran*, which is a subsidiary of *Koor* (a holding company owned by the Israeli labor federation, the *Histadrut*), and Israel's leading military electronics company, reported two orders worth a total of $200 million from two unnamed countries and a third order for $135 million worth of military communications equipment from "a certain Latin American country."

Israel also has been increasingly successful in marketing its wares to the United States and Europe. It began looking to the West when Nicaragua, Iran, and Argentina, major customers of the nascent Israeli arms industry, underwent changes of government between 1979 and 1983. Ayatollah Khomeini, however, was as eager a customer as the shah, as the world discovered when the Iran-contra affair was exposed in 1986.

Israel can also count on massive continuing sales to South Africa and China. These are seldom intentionally revealed, but it is known that Israel is presently selling advanced weapons technology to China, a trade estimated to have brought in $3 billion during the 1980s. In 1987, Israel's military trade with South Africa was estimated at $400 million to $800 million a year. Since then, Israel has begun to work with South Africa on an up-to-date fighter aircraft based on the Israeli *Lavi* aircraft project, which it canceled in 1987.

The *Lavi* was a project which typified the Israeli drive for self-sufficiency in top-of-the-line arms. It was canceled following a hard-fought political struggle. The United States, which had contributed $1 billion to its development, came to believe that the *Lavi* was much too expensive. To Israelis, the cancelation underscored their continuing need to rely on the United States for major weapons systems. Besides passing the *Lavi* technology on to South Africa, Israel has sold the plane's avionics technology to China.

Jane Hunter is editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

The steady patronage of China and South Africa, the growing trade with the United States, and the other new orders jamming up Israel's weapons factories will bring things around full circle to the original plans for the arms industry: not only would the larger production runs demanded for foreign sales lower unit costs for weapons purchased by the Israeli military—in an emergency, unshipped foreign orders could be rushed to battle.

Pressed for cash, the Israeli military has cut way back on its orders for domestically produced weapons. Today, 70 percent of Israel's arms production goes abroad. Ten years ago, Israel's own defense establishment bought 70 percent of the arms made in Israel.

So how much does it all add up to? The secrecy with which Israel goes about marketing weapons makes it impossible to say with precision. Simcha Bahiri, writing in the current issue of *New Outlook*, gives a figure of $2.5 billion for 1986 for "sales revenues for military products and services." Bahiri says that arms exports have topped the $1 billion mark every year since 1980 and he notes that 80,000 workers out of the 310,000 strong industrial workforce—that is more than one-fourth of Israel's total labor force—are involved in arms production.

IAI registered exports of $720 million in 1988, with total sales of $1.06 billion. Projected figures for 1989 are $950 million and $1.25 billion, respectively. *Israeli Military Industries*, the second-ranking state-owned arms company reported exporting about $450 million in 1988. In mid-March, Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics released figures showing a 35 percent rise during January and February in the export of metal and electronic products, the category in which Israeli arms exports are concealed.

Yet, while the volume of sales makes Israel one of the top players in the second tier of arms exporters (the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union occupy the top rank, accounting for over 80 percent of all international arms sales), and gives it a significant role in dozens of countries far beyond its shores, the numbers do not add up to economic health. News reports consistently note great losses incurred by some of the major firms. Despite its record sales, IAI expects its final accounting will show that it only broke even in 1988, and it predicts only a $15 million profit for 1989. This is due in part to the fluctuation of the dollar and the devaluation of the Israeli shekel, and of course, the cancellation of the *Lavi*.

Tadiran has lost huge sums of money in recent years, apparently due to mismanagement that critics say is inherent in both the state-run arms sector and the companies owned by the *Histadrut*, where political and strategic objectives overshadow economic considerations. Another company in which *Tadiran*'s owner *Koor* has a partial interest, *Soltam*, incurred huge losses by filling its warehouses with unsold ammunition rather than laying off workers.

The backlogs at the arms companies represent almost a decade of efforts to establish stable markets. When it began selling vast quantities of arms in the mid-1970s, Israel's political isolation limited its markets to repressive regimes in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. In the 1980s, the worldwide economic downturn and the emergence of competing Third World arms producers, especially Brazil, had Israeli economists declaring that the arms industry had passed its peak.

To insure their survival, Israeli arms makers began developing new services, thus seeking out niches their competitors were unlikely to occupy. When Third World governments could no longer buy weapons, Israel began selling them "advisors." It had a great stock of these police, military, and intelligence officers who had spent their lives on the battlefield or enforcing the Israeli occupation. The rulers of Guatemala, Ecuador, Zaire, Liberia, and many other countries found that Israeli trainers were skilled at helping them subdue their populations. The Israeli economy benefited from the paychecks these men sent home, and the advisors were well placed to sell Israeli military equipment.

Another niche was found in sales to law-enforcement agencies. *Elbit Computers, Ltd.* competes with major Israeli arms producers for military contracts. It has been aggressively marketing its products to police forces, customs departments, and coast guards. *Elbit*, which last year sold about two-thirds of its $127 million total sales abroad, recently sold a $14 million coastal control system to an "unnamed" Western country.

Illustre, a Geneva weekly, recently disclosed that Israel and Switzerland have secretly developed a drone aircraft called the *Ranger*. The Swiss had been impressed with Israel's use of these pilotless reconnaissance aircraft in Lebanon in 1982, said the magazine, noting that the aircraft will be used for nonmilitary purposes such as traffic monitoring and narcotics interdiction.

In 1984, Israel pinpointed the United States as the market that promised salvation for its arms industry and redoubled its efforts in that direction. And last year, the United States gave Israel privileges equal to those of its NATO allies. Although Washington regularly responded to Israel's requests to ease the restrictions on foreign firms trying to sell to the Pentagon, the contracts Israeli companies won were relatively small.

Typical were the 400 mine-clearing plows an IAI division recently sold to the U.S. Marines for $30 million, and the sale to the U.S. Navy announced in January by *Elta Electronics Industries* of test kits for aircraft electronics worth $4.5 million.

Ultimately, Israeli weapons makers discovered it was better to

team up with U.S. firms than compete with them. Joint ventures proliferated. According to the head of Israel's Industrial Cooperation Authority, last year alone Israeli companies signed almost 500 industrial cooperation agreements with foreign firms, two-thirds of them with U.S. companies.

In 1988, *Tadiran* and *General Dynamics* won a major bid to supply communications systems to the U.S. Army. *Elta Electronic Industries*, a division of IAI that produces radar and electronic warfare systems, formed a partnership with *Loral*. This year, *Elta* has teamed up with *American Electronic Laboratories* to sell radar systems in the United States. Last year, IAI bought into *Ramco American International* in New Jersey in order to get Federal Aviation Administration approval to service U.S. aircraft.

In January, IAI signed an agreement with *Lockheed Missiles and Space Company* in California to produce and market the *Arrow* anti-tactical ballistic missile system, which Israel is developing under a grant from the Space Defense Initiative, or Star Wars, program. Israel will not test the *Arrow* until 1990, but the partnership was created ahead of time to assure continued Congressional funding for the project.

These deals not only enhance Israel's opportunity to make sales in the United States—they also allow Israel to work on classified projects where it can absorb U.S. technology, and, when the joint ventures produce Israeli-developed weapons systems, they advance Israel's long-term goal of integrating its military technology with that of the United States.

However, Israel is already running into some problems. A $270 million contract to sell mortars to the U.S. Army by a consortium established by *Soltam*, *Martin Marietta*, and *Pocal* (a *Soltam* subsidiary), was investigated in 1985 by the Senate Armed Services Committee for improprieties. Last year, an FBI search warrant connected to the currently unfolding Pentagon procurement scandal sought documents which might show that Melvyn Paisley, a former assistant secretary of the Navy and a key figure in the scandal, had helped *Pocal* get Pentagon contracts between 1981 and 1988.

The warrant for the search of Paisley's documents also indicated that the FBI was looking for documents linking him to *Mazlat*, a company formed by IAI and *Tadiran* to sell drone aircraft to the U.S. Navy through a U.S. subsidiary, *AAI Corporation* of Baltimore. The drone had already been the subject of complaints by competing U.S. contractors, who charged that the specifications had been crafted to guarantee that the Israeli model would win.

As the Pentagon scandal simmers, trouble is brewing for Israel in other quarters. The plant *Tadiran* and *General Dynamics* are building in Tallahassee, Florida has been the object of continuing protest by anti-apartheid activists, outraged by *Tadiran*'s presence in South Africa. And these protesters have been joined by anti-war activists who argue that military spending does not assure long-term health for the local economy.

So Israel's arms industry is on a roll. Business is booming. But the support of the West is not unshakable, and the economic situation in the Third World does not hold promise for continued sales. The current circumstances favorable to Israel's arms industries are bound to change. The question is: When? □

Israeli Arms Customers by Region*

Africa
Cameroon
Central African Republic
Ciskei (South African homeland)
Ethiopia
Gabon
Ghana
Kenya
Liberia
Malawi
Morocco
Nigeria
South Africa
Swaziland
Tanzania
Uganda
Zaire
Zimbabwe

Asia
Burma
China
India
Indonesia
Malaysia
Nepal
New Guinea
Philippines
Singapore
South Korea
Sri Lanka
Taiwan
Thailand

Europe
Austria
Belgium
France
Great Britain
Greece
Romania
Switzerland
West Germany

Latin America
Argentina
Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Mexico
Nicaragua
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Venezuela

Middle East
Iran
Lebanon
Turkey

North America
Canada
United States

South Pacific
Australia
New Zealand

* *Reprinted from Bishara Bahbah*, Israel and Latin America: The Military Connection, *St. Martin's Press in association with the Institute of Palestine Studies.*

Right front view of an F-21A *Kfir* ("Young Lion") aircraft as it touches down after a test flight. The Israeli-built delta-wing tactical fighter aircraft is being used as part of the U.S Navy's "aggressor" training. Official U.S. Navy photo

BOOK REVIEW

Prophecy and Politics

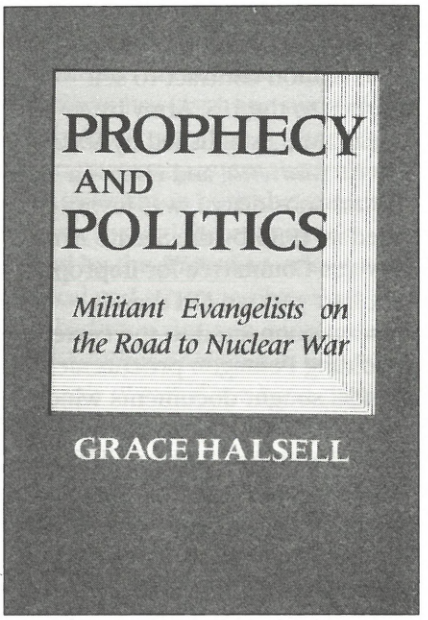
Geoffrey D. Schad

Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War.* Westport (Conn.): Lawrence Hill, 1986.

Grace Halsell's *Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War* is a journalistic account of the alliance made between Israel and a certain strain of American evangelical Protestant fundamentalism, and the effect this alliance has had on U.S. policy toward Israel, particularly during the Reagan administration. Although dated in some respects, it is a fascinating look into a certain kind of American Protestant mindset and its political consequences.

Halsell briefly examines the influence of a Protestant fundamentalist eschatological theology (i.e., of or relating to the end of the world) known as Dispensationalism. Dispensationalist evangelists are typified by the Rev. Jimmy Swaggart, and their effects are realized in the political alliances made between the American right and Israel.

Dispensationalism views history as a series of epochs ("dispensations") inevitably climaxing in an eschatological drama featuring Jesus's return to earth and his duel with the Antichrist, which centers on the Holy Land, particularly Jerusalem and Megiddo. This concept is rooted in a reading of the *Book of Revelation* and the *Old Testament* texts, such as *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* as annotated in the Scofield Reference Bible, a common study Bible first published in 1909, the creation of one Cyrus I. Scofield (b. 1843). Dispensationalism became widely taught in Bible schools, seminaries and other centers of religious education, and has become the dominant theology in the Southern Baptist convention and the Pentecostal movement.



Reagan's mother belonged to a Dispensationalist denomination and Reagan apparently shares her beliefs, which, according to Halsell, may in part account for Reagan's Libya fetish as well as his strong support for Israel.

Popular evangelists, led by Jerry Falwell, but including the notorious Jim Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, Pat Robertson, Oral Roberts, and others, fervently believe in Dispensationalism and preach it on the airwaves. Furthermore, at least since 1967, there has been a great deal of emphasis by these preachers on Israel's, and by extension America's, role in the "last days." The growing political alliance between these preachers and Israel, along with the alliance with the neo-conservatives, forms what may be called "American Gentile Zionism."

And for similar reasons, the Dispensationalist vision of an inevitable Russian attack on Israel fits in well with the neo-conservatives' loathing of the Soviet Union as the "Evil Empire." The two combine to reinforce, in ideological terms, the dubious notion of Israel's service as a bulwark against the Soviets in the Middle East.

However, unlike the neo-conservatives, the Dispensationalists

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want that attack to happen. The end of the world is inevitable, they believe, and they want to do everything in their power to bring it about. The restoration of Israel, "from the Nile to the Euphrates," is an essential element in the road leading up to a final nuclear holocaust, and they see the state established in 1948 as the "Israel" to be restored. Therefore, aid and support to Israel, especially military, is ordained by God.

Falwell and others do well by their support for Israel. Pilgrims' visits are lucrative for both the Israeli tourist industry and the evangelists. Falwell in particular organizes frequent tours to the Holy Land. Halsell traveled on two of these, in 1983 and 1985. Evangelical figures have access to Israeli government officials and have a degree of political clout on the American right, including some believers in high Reagan administration posts, such as former Interior Secretary James Watt, and by some accounts, former President Reagan himself.

Halsell spends a good deal of time dealing with Ronald Reagan's religious beliefs and the influence they have had on his politics. Reagan's mother belonged to a Dispensationalist denomination and Reagan apparently shares her beliefs, which, according to Halsell, may in part account for Reagan's Libya fetish as well as his strong support for Israel. Obviously, there were many factors at work in Reagan's decisionmaking on Israel, Libya, Iran-contra, and other matters, and the possibility that underlying religious beliefs were part of them should not be dismissed.

When Halsell departs from Reagan and returns to the evangelists themselves, she describes the peculiar, and frightening, alliances they have made with the Israeli right and with Jewish messianic fundamentalists. Here Halsell's book makes an intersection with Ian Lustick's *For the Land and the Lord* (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1988), the best recent study of such groups as *Gush Emunim*, the *Temple Mount Faithful* and the *Yeshiva Ateret Cohanim*, which is training priests for a new Temple to be built on the sites of Al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock.

Common to the Christian and Jewish fundamentalists' vision is the necessity of rebuilding the Temple. Halsell details well the support the Jewish groups receive from their Christian counterparts. The very real dangers posed by these small, fanatical bands is an important factor in the most recent incidents of violence in Jerusalem. The matter of their links to American Christian fundamentalists is well treated here.

One of Halsell's continuing themes throughout is the invisibility of Palestinian Christians to Dispensationalist evangelicals, a point made clear in Halsell's accounts of her visits to Israel with Falwell's group. On one occasion, the group *Christian Pilgrims All* stops in Nazareth only to use the toilet. On another, Falwell introduces a token Palestinian Christian to the group, a Baptist minister from Bethlehem named Naim Khoury. Palestinian Christians simply do not have any relevance for the evangelicals, because in the Dispensationalist view, they are not true Christians. Besides, nothing must stand in the way of divinely ordered Israeli supremacy.

The evangelicals' ignorance of and lack of concern for Palestinian Christians is only the most glaring example of how they distort Christianity.

Halsell raises some very disturbing issues which should be of concern to anyone involved in religion. The linkage of the evangelical groups to domestic and foreign politics is of considerable importance, as is the growing political role in Israel of Jewish fundamentalists. Halsell deals with all these issues very well, and overall, the book is a smooth and compelling read.

Three years after publication, one wonders just how significant the fundamentalist role has been in U.S. politics, and how to weigh its significance against that of other factors in the U.S. Israel equation, such as the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) or the neo-conservative movement. Indeed, the neo-conservatives are a much more important element in Republican party politics than the fundamentalists, as demonstrated by the rapid disappearance of Pat Robertson's legions during the presidential primaries.

Reagan may well be a Dispensationalist, but his beliefs may not be the most important element in his decisionmaking. His willingness to deal with Gorbachev and his decision to open a dialogue with the PLO are relevant examples. The stage is very different now than it was when Halsell wrote: Episcopalian George Bush is in the White House, and Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart are in disgrace.

Be that as it may, images of Armaggedon and the Apocalypse are very resonant for many Christians, and the consequences of one group's exploitation of its interpretation of those images for political ends, to the extent of potentially destroying the world, should be noted by all. Grace Halsell's *Prophecy and Politics* is a good place to start. □

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

Please allow me to take this opportunity to introduce myself. I am the Editor in Chief of the *Journal of Defense & Diplomacy*. The *Journal* is a monthly geopolitical and defense periodical which analyzes trends and developments in international affairs and the defense industry.

I have been reading *The Return* for some time and believe that it is a very good magazine. I would like to propose an exchange between our two publications. I believe that such an exchange would be mutually beneficial.

Alan P. Capps
Editor-in-Chief,
Journal of Defense and Diplomacy

Dear Editor:

In his April 16 *Washington Post* article, Daoud Kuttab, a Palestinian journalist, argues that the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have no choice but to go along with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's offer to hold elections among Palestinians in those areas. Kuttab writes that the Palestinians should respond to Shamir's proposals "in the same spirit of creative struggle that has characterized the Palestinian *Intifadah*." Moreover, Kuttab seems to have tremendous faith in the ability and the willingness of the U.S. government to play an active role in the Middle East, particularly as a guarantor for peace.

Kuttab's position is based on faulty premises, superficial analysis, and a deadly dose of wishful thinking.

First of all, the Palestinians do in fact have other choices. It is true that the military option is no longer a viable one, however, may I remind Kuttab that it is neither Israeli benevolence nor American good offices that have played the crucial role in transforming the image of the Palestinian from a terrorist to that of a victim. The key factor has been the decision of the Palestinians living under occupation to take charge of their destiny and confront the occupier with nonmilitary and, often, nonviolent means. If we are to give credit to the success of the *Intifadah*, it should go to the men, women, and children who lost their lives confronting and resisting Israel's occupation.

The PLO, for its part, pursued a wise and well-calculated policy aimed at doing everything possible in order to reinforce, and continually reinvigorate the *Intifadah*.

The Palestinians have finally discovered the weapon that Israel cannot match.

Why should the Palestinians help buy time for Shamir? After all, they are fighting a winning war, and what Shamir wants is land, not peace. He wants a subdued Palestinian population living under Israeli control.

In addition, Kuttab's argument bases itself on a U.S. willingness and commitment to play the role of an interlocutor, and a guarantor of peace between the Israelis and Palestinians. Kuttab and others should realize that so long as Israel holds the upper hand in the Middle East, the U.S. administration has little incentive to take a more active role.

Kuttab claims that if the Palestinians go along with the idea of elections, then they will be taking the initiative back from the Israelis once again. I say, the initiative is still in the Palestinians' hands, and the Israeli leadership is the one trying to play catch up.

Doesn't Mr. Kuttab see that he is falling into Shamir's trap? Doesn't he see that accepting Shamir's elections means giving up all that the *Intifadah* has gained so far?

What will recover Palestine—or parts of it—is nothing less than the perseverance and defiance of the Palestinian people.

Kuttab's ideas were far from the spirit and creativity that have characterized the struggle of the Palestinian *Intifadah*.

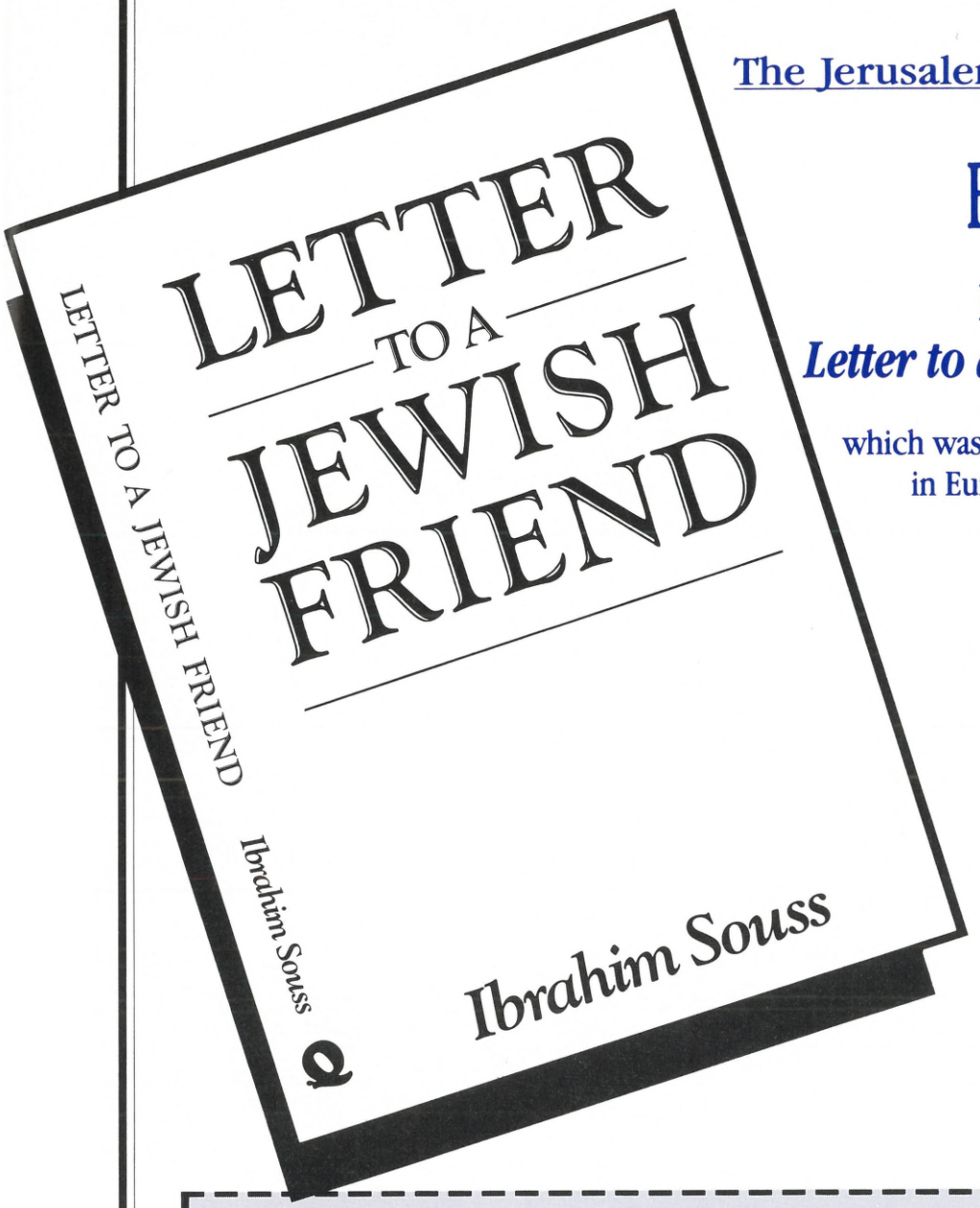
Cathy N. Sinclair
College Park, Maryland

[Editor's Note: More than 83 local Palestinian leaders issued a statement on April 26, rejecting Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's call for elections in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Given the wide range of people who signed it—academic figures, businessmen, journalists, doctors and engineers, among others—it seems to leave little hope that Mr. Shamir's election plan will succeed.

The statement, called simply the Political Document, described Shamir's proposal as "nothing more than a maneuver for the media to save Israel from its international isolation."

The document attacked Shamir's plan as "a project which ignores the essence of the conflict." It argued that "this isolated occurrence of elections does not illustrate how it will lead to the end of occupation and to Palestinian national independence."]



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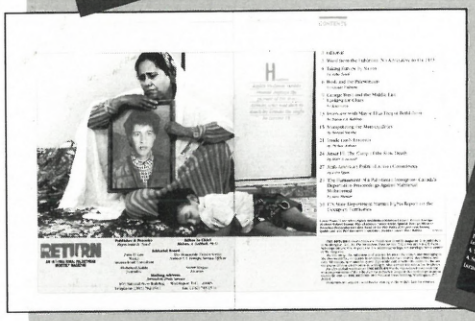

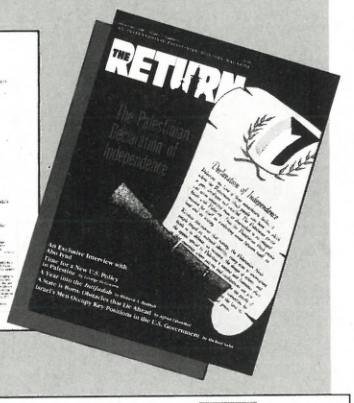

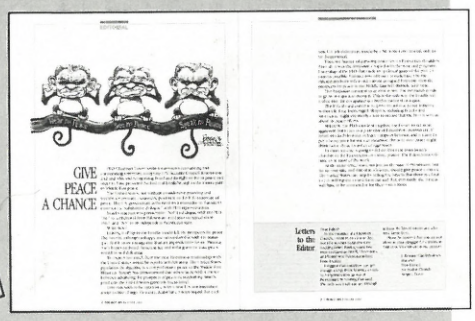

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